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Fuel Crisis Casualties—*The Editors*

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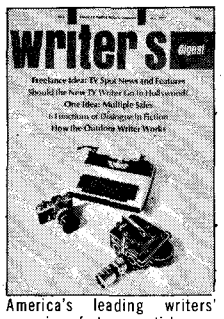

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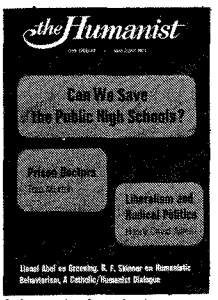

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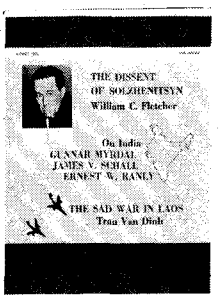

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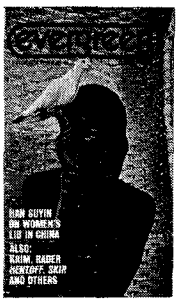

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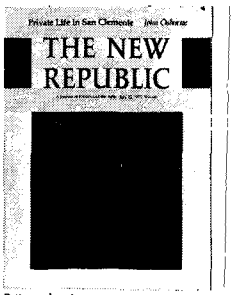

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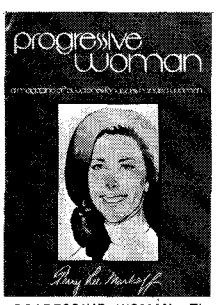

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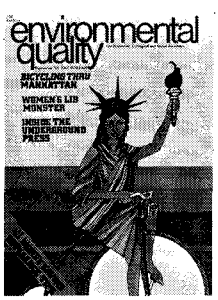

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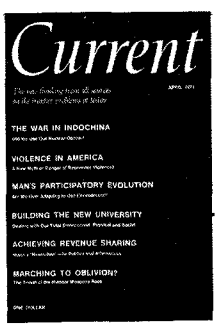

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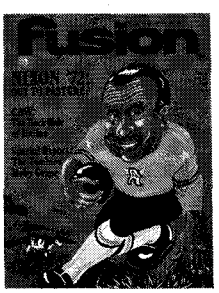

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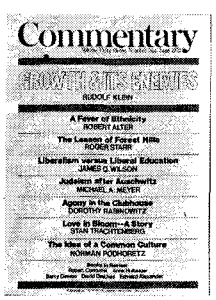

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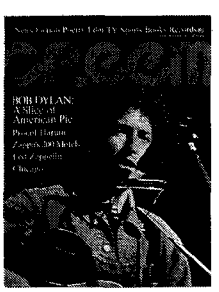

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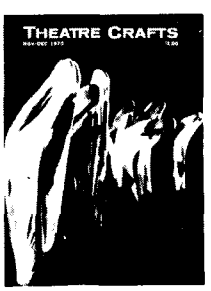

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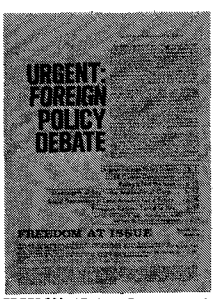

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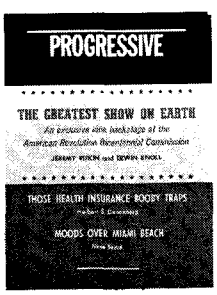

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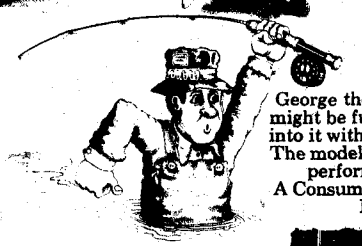
Ten little losers, standing in a line. One bought our magazine. Then there were nine.

To save time, Al bought an electronic minicalculator for his personal bookkeeping. But he really miscalculated when he overlooked the model with more convenient operation—at $50 *less!*

Betty selected a well-known air conditioner for her living room. But she lost her cool when *Consumer Reports* pointed out that for just $30 more, she could have bought a model that was not only quieter—but used 25% *less* power!

Charlie was just too rushed to check with *Consumer Reports* before he bought his new staple gun. So his $15 bought him a lot more than he bargained for: a model that was hard to load, jammed easily—and presented a safety hazard, too!

Dora never gave a thought to safety when she bought her $8 steam vaporizer . . . so the truth came as a shock the day she tilted it while it was still plugged in. Too bad she didn't know about a *safer* model —for the same $8!



George thought fly-casting might be fun—and plunged into it with a fancy $45 rod. The model that would have performed just as well? A Consumer Reports "Best Buy" at just $14!

Ed walked away whistling about the deal he got on a new $350 stereo receiver. But he changed his tune when he found *five* models in *Consumer Reports* that could have been "best buys" for him—all costing about $100 *less!*

"Cheap is cheap" muttered Flora, when her bargain $120 innerspring mattress started to sag. She could have enjoyed a more durable model (rated a "Best Buy" in *Consumer Reports*) for the same $120!

Helen didn't need a color TV just to watch old movies, so she bought a 19" black-and-white set for the den. How could she know Errol Flynn would look better on a set that cost $40 *less*?

Ira figured his new $39 extension ladder *had* to be good. But the ladder proved as shaky as his reasoning. Too bad he didn't consult *Consumer Reports*. He could have bought a *steadier* model—at $6 *less!*

Jim finally decided he'd *had* it with garden hoses that kinked or burst, exterior wood stains that chalked and mildewed, can-openers that didn't open cans, 'bargain' vacation tours that were anything but, rancid frozen-fish fillets, and 'convenience' appliances that caused more problems than they solved. He subscribed to *Consumer Reports*.

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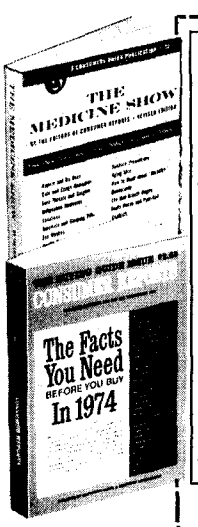

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TRB

from Washington
December 29, 1973

Maladministration

We were lunching last week in the Press Club bar and talking about Elliot Richardson, and this short chap came in with odd attire. But everybody wears odd clothes these days, and he seemed knowledgeable so we made room for him at our table (the one after the bar, that Dan looks after) and pretty soon forgot that he seemed to be wearing ruffles. One well-known columnist tried to argue that Mr. Nixon could only be impeached for a statutory crime. "Nonsense," said the stranger, "you should read Alec on that: the impeachment process is designed 'as a method of national inquest into the conduct of public men.'"

"Alec?" said my friend, blankly.

"Alexander Hamilton," repeated the other; "Federalist paper No. 65."

"Smart-ass, eh?" said my friend huffily. "Yeah, but how about Nixon kicking out Richardson? You don't call that impeachable do you?" The mysterious stranger observed, "The President can displace from office a man whose merits require that he should be continued in it. What will be the motives which the President can feel for such abuse of his power, and the restraints that operate to prevent it? In the first place he will be impeachable in this House before the Senate for such an act of maladministration; for I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust."

We looked at him in astonishment. He left Dan a tip in some odd coins and walked out with a bouncy stride. A blue-eyed, ruddy-faced little fellow. I peeped where he had signed his name on the card. "James Madison, Jr., of Virginia," he had written.

Yes folks, I guess we are all going to become experts on impeachment in the year ahead, along with Representative Rodino's new chief counsel. And that quotation above is James Madison's exact comment, on the 16th of June 1789, in the House of Representatives, First Congress, of which he was a member. Courts study such comments for precedents. The key word, I think, is "maladministration." Yes, in writing the Constitution in that hot summer in Philadelphia, George Mason, (plantation neighbor of George Washington and seven years his senior) at one point included "maladministration" in the definition of impeachable offenses. But his friend Jemmy Madison called it too vague, and they substituted "high crimes and misdemeanors" as including "maladministration," just as Rep. Madison told the House a year or two later.

It is argued now that our forebears left us no way out of the intolerable fix that we are in with President Nixon's maladministration. But that is only partly so. They provided a serviceable exit at least half way. The question is whether we dare follow the Founding Fathers. As George Mason said in Philadelphia, "No point is of more importance than that the right of impeachment should be continued." They put in a fire escape.

The House sits as a kind of grand jury. The Senate sits as a court if the House majority votes an indictment. In 200 years Congress has investigated 65 possible impeachment cases (55 federal judges). The House has voted "impeachment" 12 times. The Senate has acquitted seven, convicted four, and one resigned. It's a venerable, respectable process. But it goes only part way.

To get ultimate conviction a two-thirds Senate majority of "guilty" is required. And that currently seems unlikely. The real question is will President Nixon resign if the House can and does vote an indictment? The reason would be ill health. It would save the nation three years under a crippled presidency. It is idle to say the process shouldn't go on; it is already started. Congress voted chairman Rodino one million dollars of which the Republicans get one-third, and he has 30 lawyers and accountants now gathering evidence. That's the situation so far.

What isn't so clear as you try to penetrate the spectacular events ahead is the pressure on President Nixon, and particularly on the conservative Republicans. They probably face in November one of the greatest defeats in history, what with Watergate, fuel shortage and recession. It might be moderated if Mr. Nixon quit. "I hope the public won't practice guilt-by-association" said Senator Percy, Republican of Illinois, grimly.

It is the conservative Republicans, if anyone, who have the leverage, and it is as absorbing to watch them as a football game.

► Barry Goldwater, Nestor of his party, told the *Christian Science Monitor* last week: "He chose to dibble and dabble . . . when all the American people wanted was the truth. I think it has come to one hell of a pass when the President of the United States has to lay bare all of his income tax papers."

► Conservative columnist James J. Kilpatrick changed his mind (like many of us). On October 28, he called impeachment "pure nonsense." By November 11, he saw it as the "one chance to salvage the administration."

► *The Wall Street Journal* felt queasy over Nixon's tax finagling: "mistake in judgment," "unsettling," "insensitivity," it said on December 14. As to the earlier missing tapes it was simply aghast: "We have arrived at the point where virtually no one believes the President's defense on a key issue. . . . This explanation is impossible to believe, and the implications of not believing it are staggering" (Dec. 5).

If the basis for impeachment is "maladministration" the House has a case. (Some will disagree.) But here is the secret Tom Huston memo for surreptitious entry: "it is clearly illegal; it amounts to burglary." Mr. Nixon went along. Here is the Dean memorandum: "How can we use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies?" Plenty of evidence that it was used. There is the attempted tampering with Judge Byrne in the Ellsberg case; the shakedown of corporations; the secret Cambodian bombing and cover-up, the impoundment of 17 percent of controllable funds since 1969; the acceptance of large personal loans from multimillionaires; the mysterious $100,000 in $100 bills from Howard Hughes, kept three years in Rebozo's strong box; the failure to pay California income tax; the erased tapes. Go on and on. Mr. Nixon's voluntary resignation is a candle of hope for many Republicans as the gloomy year of 1973 ends without Christmas lights.

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Fuel Crisis Casualties

It seems to most of us, unless we've been in Detroit too long, that you can't discourage the use of gasoline and sell big, powerful cars at the same time. Yet that's the inconsistency embraced by American car makers. The big three sold Cadillacs, Lincolns and Chryslers for years on the odd premise that anyone should want and be able to buy the fattest, heaviest, plushiest private transportation in the world. To this must now be added the thought that every driver is entitled to burn gas at the rate of 10 (Cadillac), eight (Lincoln, Chrysler) or seven (Oldsmobile Toronado) miles per gallon as he travels in one of these great whales. The car manufacturers in no other country are so foolish. Why are ours? Perhaps, even in the middle of an oil shortage, they are trying to preserve the American Way. Or perhaps the big three want to continue selling more cars because they're more profitable, in which case they have an understandable interest in ditching costly pollution controls.

It's no news that Detroit views the Clean Air Act as an enemy in this time of crisis. Ford and Chrysler are flying the flag of the fuel shortage as an advertisement for delaying auto emission standards slated to go into effect in 1975. General Motors has done the same for 1976 standards (the standards have been put off for a year already). Ford and Chrysler say that the new catalytic converters due in 1975 waste gasoline and aren't worth installing. And all three auto giants assert that the cost of adapting to the new device will raise the "sticker price" of cars about $150, a terrible penalty for consumers—and the industry. The automakers' own data, however, show that the alarm over loss of fuel economy in 1975 is nonsense. General Motors has announced that because of changes being made to adapt to the catalysts, its 1975 cars will get, on the average, 13 percent *better* mileage than 1974 models. Ford and Chrysler say the catalysts will improve fuel economy by three percent. One Chrysler expert has made the self-serving point that GM's fuel savings estimate had been lowered twice already, and that GM "admits" that only 10 percent of the the saving will be achieved by mechanical changes. The rest of the saving, the shameful truth reveals, will be achieved by *making smaller cars.* Environmental Protection Agency statistics make the same point: smaller cars improve their mileage considerably under 1975 regulations, while heavy cars do worse. Thus there is no advantage

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in freezing standards where they are today. Savings can be had only by going forward to 1975 or backward to 1970. As for the price increase, that is precisely what the gas shortage requires. Rationing gasoline is cumbersome, though it may be necessary. But why not raise the price of engines that pollute, especially big engines, if the object is to discourage driving?

Clarence Ditlow, a staffer on Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Group, checked some industry claims against an EPA report and came up with an interesting statistic. The EPA calculates that cars with air conditioners burn nine to 20 percent more gas than those without air conditioners. Ditlow says that an "air conditioner moratorium" begun with 1975 models would save 380 to 656 million gallons of gas the first year. Ditlow then compares the industry claim that 2.7 billion gallons of gas could be saved annually by removing anti-pollution devices from all cars with his own estimate that 3.9 billion gallons could be saved by removing all car air conditioners. Which is more urgent, the need for clean air inside the car or outside it? If Detroit were firmly committed to saving fuel and lowering prices as it says it is, would it not eagerly remove not just emission controls and air conditioners, but vinyl roofs, power steering, power windows and sunroofs, automatic transmissions and bias-ply tires? All these changes would save gasoline, but they don't interest the car makers.

The industry is only one example, but probably the best, of how businesses have learned to shrink responsibility by blaming the government for their troubles. This is particularly annoying in the pollution controversy, because the government stepped in only after private enterprise had botched the job. The energy shortage is the newest industry excuse for seeking governmental relief and, more dangerously, for undoing environmental laws passed in Nixon's first term. The President has tried to reassure the country that the shortage will not require hard sacrifice. He has delayed taking the first steps toward gas rationing, given special attention to truck drivers' complaints and ordered special relief for private airplane builders and owners. He told the seafarers union that the crisis would be over in a year and informed another audience that "no one will suffer" for lack of fuel. Picking up that cue, Washington lobbyists have begun plying the government with fresh arguments and new figures to win concessions they have been denied before. Others try to squeeze larger allocations from the Federal Energy Office. The blossoming of the crisis lobby is having a harmful fallout, noticeable already in the interest-ridden House emergency energy bill.

A relatively simple and sensible bill was passed by the Senate, but once the Representatives warmed to the subject, they could not be restrained. One by one amendments were laid on the Senate measure during debate on December 13 and 14, until the heavily overloaded bill passed in the early hours of December 15. It promised to delay 1975 auto emission standards for two years; it suspended and thereby wrecked EPA city traffic control plans; it gave kindly consideration to "late-night food stores" and moving companies; it eliminated clean air standards applying to coal-fired electric generators; it did away with funding school busing as a waste of gas. Many of these amendments replaced more damaging ones that would, for example, eliminate nearly all auto pollution standards until 1977 and exempt companies from the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. Some of these came close to passing. When the bill went to conference last week, some of the wilder amendments were taken out. The conferees agreed to drop the ban on school busing, and they decided to extend the 1975 auto emission requirements for only one year. However the bill still suspends for a year EPA's authority to stop construction of parking lots. And although the worst features of the House bill didn't survive, their existence testifies to how casually Congress treats tough environmental statutes.

The real strength of the EPA is in the law that created it, rather than its staff, and this is why EPA has been able to stand up to the White House on so many occasions. The President is more worried about the GNP than air quality, and he has already asked (and received) congressional permission to let oil companies violate one environmental law in order to build a pipeline in Alaska. He has also taken away what EPA considered to be its authority to set and enforce safe radiation levels. He has transferred this power to the more industry oriented Atomic Energy Commission. Urging the hurried building of more refineries, deepwater tanker ports and offshore oil wells, he has asked for power to override the EPA's judgment in deciding which furnaces may burn dirty fuel. The President needs no encouragement from Congress to let standards decline.

The EPA and even the environmental lobby groups have conceded that one compromise of standards may be necessary. Because the Arab embargo caught us short of low-sulfur oil, there is no alternative this winter but to allow some power plants and perhaps some factories to use substandard fuel. That is why the EPA has permitted five states to tolerate "variances," but in each case it has made close reviews to ascertain that there really are no better possibilities. In New York, for example, the EPA permitted Con Edison to burn dirty fuel in one plant but not in another. EPA figures showed that there would be one or two more deaths on bad days in New York if pollution was allowed to increase; on the other hand keeping buildings cold would push the death rate higher. The plant in the less congested area was allowed to violate air standards. This is the sort of assessment that should precede any relaxation of environmental laws, and the EPA is the only agency that can be relied upon today for the needed objectivity.

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The Year That Was

Last April Henry Kissinger said 1973 was to be "the year of Europe," and this December, on his way to the Middle East, the secretary of State stopped in Brussels to tell the foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization what he had in mind. A heated exchange reportedly ensued, for sharp differences remain between what Kissinger in April called the "regional interests" of Europe and the "global interests" of the United States—the former, by inference, not so important as the latter. Two days later, in London, Kissinger backed away from that distinction: "We have no intention of restricting Europe's international role to regional matters." He admitted, however, to "uneasiness about some of the recent practices of the European community in the political field" (a thinly veiled reference to Europe's pro-Arab bias), and he warned there is "a real danger of a gradual erosion of the Atlantic community, which for 25 years has insured peace to its nations and brought prosperity to its peoples." The Atlantic alliance, he said, must choose between "creativity together or irrelevance apart." The next morning he flew to Algiers.

When American politicians speak of Europe "sharing the defense burden," they are usually referring to our balance of payments rather than the actual cost of deployment. The net US military balance of payments deficit worldwide was $3.6 billion in 1972—$1.3 billion of that in NATO Europe, mostly Germany. Bonn offset about $2 billion of the deficit for fiscal years 1972-3 through investments, credit and procurement of American weapons. Nonetheless the gap between US outlays in NATO and European offset payments for fiscal year 1974 is expected to run between $600 million and $1.4 billion. Although the projected gap is in line with that of recent years, an amendment to the military authorization bill has markedly changed the situation. Authored by Senators Henry Jackson (D, Wash.) and Sam Nunn (D, Ga.), the amendment stipulates the United States will withdraw a percentage of its 300,000 NATO troops equal to the percentage of the balance of payments deficit not offset by our European allies. If the gap is in the predicted range of $600 million to $1.4 billion, the withdrawals would be substantial: 24 to 56 percent of our European garrison. (The amendment has loopholes: the fiscal 1974 gap need not be made up until mid-1975, the means of calculating the deficit are left vague and, of course, the measure could always be repealed in another session of Congress.)

Although the Jackson-Nunn amendment makes no sense from a security standpoint—forces which are militarily necessary ought to be maintained, those which are not should be withdrawn—it has given the Nixon administration a potent political weapon. It can maintain its ritual opposition to unilateral troop withdrawals, and at the same time threaten such withdrawals if Europe doesn't offer up more.

"Can a proposal [for a reduction of forces in Europe] be developed which will be at once acceptable to our NATO allies and negotiable with the Soviet Union, or will any proposal which the Soviets might find acceptable be unacceptable to NATO?" This, a recent staff report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee points out, is the crucial question. The United States first sought a common NATO position. Following two US notes on the subject, a NATO guidelines paper "was agreed to in mid-October setting forth the substantive and procedural approach to the negotiations as agreed among the allies." However mutual balanced force reduction is still quite suspect in European capitals. The British, notes the Senate report, remain "strongly opposed to the MBFR negotiations," and the French have characterized the talks "as yet another indication of a lessened US interest in the security of Europe." Only one European official of the many interviewed thought the Soviet Union "would actively seek to reach an MBFR agreement." Moreover there was considerable concern among Europeans that "the United States is prepared to deal over their heads on security matters with the Soviet Union."

The linkage between MBFR and burden sharing is complex, and it is made more so by present nuclear arrangements. European security ultimately rests on the American willingness to risk general nuclear war. But the 7000 tactical nuclear weapons in Europe would essentially be directed against targets *within central Europe*, and our NATO allies are understandably skeptical of any strategy that would turn Europe into a nuclear battlefield but spare the United States and Soviet Union. The Germans, for instance, have refused to permit holes to be dug for nuclear demolition mines that would be detonated to block Soviet invasion routes. Although such mines are wholly defensive and would be emplaced only if invasion were imminent, the US has been forbidden permission even to dig the holes! While the Germans realize that tactical nuclear weapons can lend credibility to NATO's conventional forces, "the thought that tactical nuclear weapons might actually be used in central Europe is far more difficult for them to accept," says the Senate report.

NATO has often been called "an alliance in search of an enemy." The bipolarity of the 1940s has given way to a multipolar world. An ironic indication of that change is China's quite vocal support of NATO. Although NATO remains the guardian of Western capitalism, it serves Chinese interests by tying down forces on the Soviet western flank that might otherwise be deployed against China's long northern border. Because NATO gives the US control of Europe's defense, it works against greater European integration and independence. In the absence of NATO the united wealth and technology of Western Europe could quickly make it the world's third nuclear superpower. Such a development would not be in the Soviet inter-

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est; so NATO preserves a status quo satisfactory to the Soviets.

If our allies find our European policy puzzling, they are not entirely to blame. On one hand, for example, the Nixon administration argues that American forces are in Europe to protect *American* security interests; on the other it demands Europeans pay a greater share of the cost for *their* defense. We include NATO members in the multilateral talks (MBFR) on conventional and nuclear forces in Europe but pointedly exclude them from the bilateral strategic forces: the cornerstone of deterrence in Europe.

In the years immediately following World War II, the security interests of the United States and Western Europe were identical, but with diminishing Soviet pressure they have diverged. The differences cannot be papered over by a "new Atlantic charter": they are real (e.g., the Middle East). Before the United States can deal sensibly with the unavoidable complexities of European issues, it must first identify American interests and adjust its policies accordingly. What, for instance, are the purposes of US NATO forces? What should be their size and composition? Instead of addressing such questions, State and Defense simply ask Congress to authorize the same number of European troops year after year. Whenever there are signs Congress might take seriously its constitutional authority to "raise and support armies," generals, cabinet officers and the President himself issue dire warnings that any unilateral troop cut will take away the President's "bargaining chips." That is not a policy; it is temporizing.

The Other Texan

Bentsen in '76?

Back in 1961, when friends of Secretary of the Navy John Connally were talking him up for governor of Texas the next year, Connally wondered aloud where he'd get his first contribution. He got a quick answer. A young Houston businessman and ex-congressman, Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr., promptly obliged. They're still friends and their paths cross socially, but Texas political circles are titillated by the prospect of a showdown between them in 1976 if both seek the presidency. It's a confrontation that would crack the celebrated political homogeneity of the Texas corporate world. Bentsen, now a US senator, flares a bit if questioned too hard on Connally. "I don't want to get into that. Every time I do, it comes out wrong. Just say we're friends but I'm a Democrat and he's a Republican."

What's puzzling from a national perspective is that a 52-year-old freshman senator who returned to Washington less than three years ago as the "bad guy" who knocked off ex-Sen. Ralph Yarborough in a nasty primary is thought of as a presidential candidate. There are several ways to explain it. First, Bentsen is a Texan, and Texas has a big bag of electoral votes. He's also a self-made millionaire several times over and a man with whom the business community feels comfortable. The similarity to Connally ends there. Bentsen is trying to build a coalition of organized labor, minorities and liberals (what Texans call "brass collar" Democrats), courthouse officials and businessmen. He is as self-assured as Connally but in a quieter, more analytical way. He's not as manipulative, and where Connally made a point of putting down such Yarborough allies as Houston's Billie Carr, Bentsen is on talking terms with them. Such Yarboroughites as Carr and Bernard Rapaport, the Waco insurance man who has financed many a liberal campaign in Texas, were at Bentsen's recent $200-a-plate testimonial.

He had an early welcome in Washington from Majority Leader Mansfield, who has made it a point to extend a helping hand to "a new generation from the South." Florida's Lawton Chiles, Ernest Hollings of South Carolina and ex-Sen. William Spong of Virginia also were courted on arrival, and Mansfield has mentioned Bentsen, along with Gov. Reuben Askew of Florida, as a potential presidential nominee in 1976.

Bentsen sees himself as a pragmatist with a healthy concern for the taxpayers' burdens. He considered the supersonic transport "a piece of technological elegance this country couldn't afford," and even if it could he didn't think it should be charged to the taxpayers. He doesn't buy every gadget the Pentagon wants. As subcommittee chairman he bucked Chairman John Stennis of Senate Armed Services on accelerated development of the Trident submarine because it struck him as poorly managed and a waste of money (perhaps $500 million). He lost by one vote in committee but took Trident to the floor and nearly won. When a Texas site was picked for the Pentagon's "Sanguine" communications project he was not impressed: "In that kind of situation, I thought trying to put it in an area where it would be environmentally destructive to the property rights of a lot of people was wrong." He's not against the project as such, however. He was an early sponsor of a war powers bill and supported a series of Mansfield "end-the-war" amendments. So he's not exactly "hawkish."

If Bentsen is to build a broad base of national support, he knows he'll have to turn to bread and butter issues. "If we'd stuck with these issues in 1972, we could have won," he says. His moves here arose logically out of his business experience. After three terms in the House of Representatives from 1949 to 1955 (the youngest man in the House—27—when elected), he returned to Texas to build up a mini-financial empire, a conglomerate embracing a savings and loan operation, a mutual fund, an insurance company, a bank That prepared him for legislative battles on pension

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legislation and regulating investment policies of bank trust departments. Pension legislation had been before the Congress for four or five years but was immobilized by a jurisdictional fight between the Senate Finance Committee and Labor and Education. It always died in Finance. Bentsen, who has the confidence of Finance Chairman Russell Long, introduced his own bill, got it referred to Finance and reported out. He then worked with the original sponsors in Education and Labor (Williams of NJ and Javits of NY). The bill sailed through the Senate and Javits said that the working men of the country owed Bentsen a "vote of thanks."

So Bentsen could look into the growing domination of the stock market by trust departments of major financial institutions, Long set up a special subcommittee called financial markets. Bentsen is alarmed because the figures show these institutions now control over 70 percent of the stock and have a tendency to invest in a limited number of issues, thus cutting off the flow of capital available to new and growing companies. For instance Morgan Security in New York handles $21 billion in trust stocks with an eight-man board making all decisions. Often a single trust department holds seven or eight percent of a company, and in at least one instance 20 percent. Although the bankers bitterly resist any regulation, Bentsen is considering limiting the amount pension funds can hold of a stock to no more than 10 percent of the outstanding shares and allowing them to put no more than five percent of their total assets in one company.

Texas politics and oil are Siamese twins, but Bentsen is taking an approach toward the energy crisis that sets him somewhat apart from his Texas brethren. In the case of federally held lands he suggests joint sharing of development costs, with oil companies getting 35 percent of the take and the federal government 65 percent. His aides claim it would save the taxpayers $100 million. This idea of royalty-sharing isn't exactly radical nor as innovative and far-reaching as Senator Adlai Stevenson's proposal to set up a federal corporation on federal lands to exploit their natural resources, more or less along the TVA model.

Like many Democrats, Bentsen has his eye on Senator Kennedy. And like all of them he gives the traditional answer about 1976: "It's much too early to decide. It's light years away." The people around him are more definitive: "Bentsen sees Kennedy as the front-runner, but remove Kennedy and you have Jackson, Mondale, etc. There is no reason to make a judgment at this time, but if, after the 1974 election, Kennedy takes himself out, well. . . ." Some of Bentsen's friends aren't waiting. One Texas member of the Democratic National Committee, Jess Hay of Dallas, is mailing Bentsen material to county chairmen around the nation. Also Bentsen is chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and plans to make speeches not only in the 34 states with Senate races, but in any of the other 16 where he's invited. If Bentsen decides to go, he'll have friends in high places. One is Dallas' Robert Strauss, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a long-time political ally.

Bentsen could give Gov. George Wallace at least a little competition in parts of the South, and in that region he would be in direct competition with Senator Jackson for the party's moderates. Bentsen says he "can live" with a "moderate" label. He deserves it. In 1972 ADA rated him 35 (out of a possible 100), COPE 30, Americans for Constitutional Action 45, and the National Farmers Union a winning 67.

Paul R. Wieck

The Process of Osmosis

Here's Nelson

Anyone attending the press conference of Nelson A. Rockefeller, following the announcement of his decision to resign as governor of New York, could easily satisfy himself that the eloquence and stature of past leaders is paralleled by present ones. To prove that simple finding, the name Abraham Lincoln has been substituted for Nelson Rockefeller in the following excerpted transcript of the press conference. Not a single other word has been changed:

Question: Can you tell us when you made that decision?
Abraham Lincoln: Well, I'm not as quite as sharp on these things as you are. They sort of come upon me. It's like a process of osmosis. It just sort of is coming. Finally, you found that the decision has been made inside.

Question: How can you solve the nation's problems better than Mr. Nixon, the President?
Abraham Lincoln: Well, I've got more time now that I'm resigning than he does, and I think that one cannot work on the synthesizing of the various aspects, let's take it, ecology, energy, economics and security, those four have got to be considered together to come up with an intelligent plan.

Question: Was there a political context at all to your decision as well? I'm talking about concern for the state Republican Party that you have been close to and very much a part of.
Abraham Lincoln: You can say that again.

Question: Governor, after 15 years in office you say your only regret in stepping down is that some parties, presumably us, will interpret it as a political maneuver to seek the presidency.
Abraham Lincoln: I didn't say my only regret, did I?

Question: That's what your copy says here.

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Abraham Lincoln: My copy says—okay, all right. Excuse me.

Question: Governor, some state Democrats have suggested that you might have trouble winning reelection if you had sought it. Did that ever concern you?
Abraham Lincoln: Well, I can tell you, each time I have run, for four times, I was around 35-65 in the polls. I got down to around 24 one time. This time, while the polls have been brought out, I didn't take them, somebody did, I have been brought out, things looked bad. I did read in the papers, was it the day before yesterday, that they are now saying that I probably would have been the easiest to beat. I think this came from the great pundit who made the suggestion they were going to take the three Court of Appeals judges so they renounced the agreement that we made for two and one.

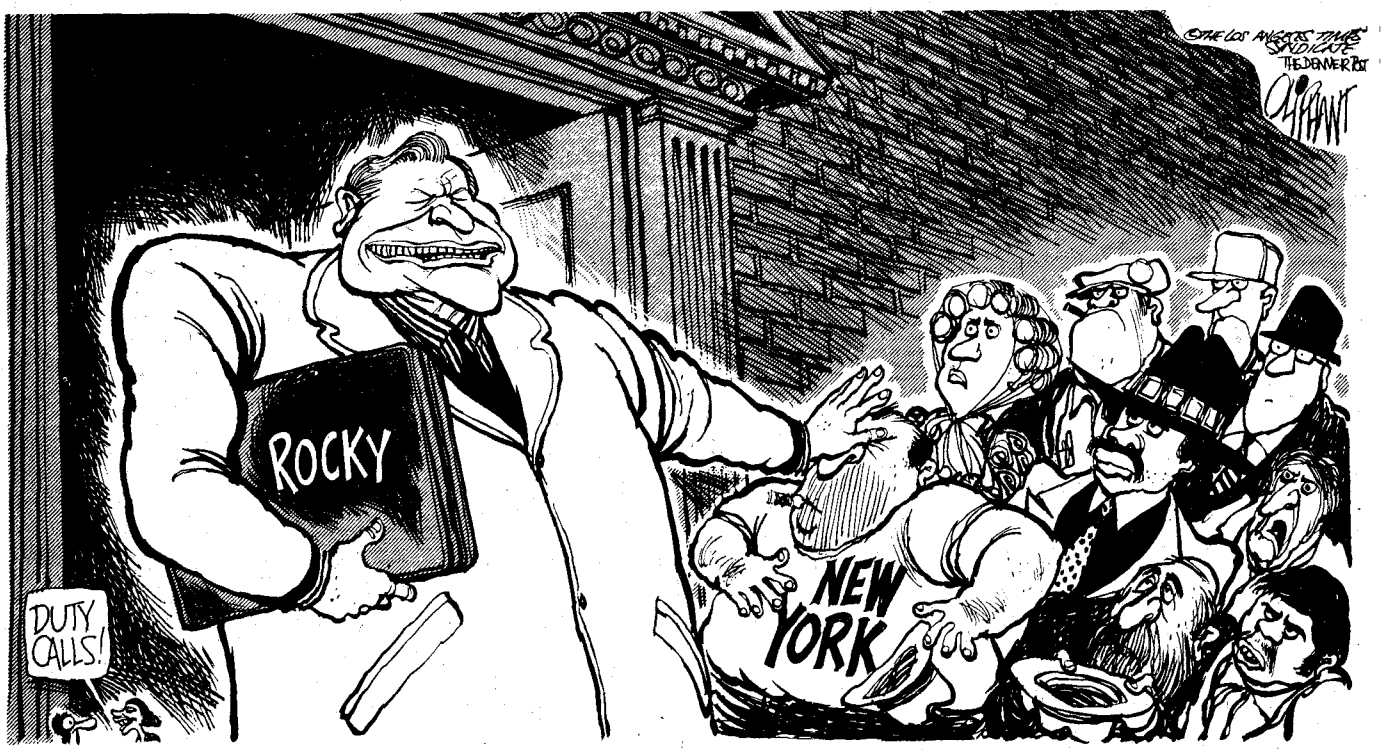
Question: Can you give us some good reasons why it would be unreasonable for us to speculate on your interest in the presidency?
Abraham Lincoln: Well, I read a story in the paper this morning, I think, if I'm correct, saying this Critical Choices Commission which I had set up in the last few weeks, maybe it was months, the man who wrote it is here present so he can refresh my memory, now this just isn't accurate. This commission was set up, I started two years ago. This is not a gimmick, this is not a political trick. These are—I just wanted to bring these points out. You are helping me by making it possible to reemphasize these points.

Question: Governor, this Commission on Critical Choices for America, there are some people that think that the Watergate affair presents a most critical choice for America. Do you agree with that?
Abraham Lincoln: Now, I think for America our system is proving its vitality and strength. I think that we have been able to weather the Watergate tragedy, we have been able to weather an international crisis in the Middle East and the confrontation of the Soviet, and the people of this country have kept calm and stable. Sure, they are sore about a lot of things and they express themselves and they write to their congressmen and their senators, and they may write to the President, I don't know, they write to whoever they feel, but they have remained strong and I think this is a time of testing for America and I think that free men and women are showing their capacity.

Question: Governor, if Gerald Ford decides he would like to be the next Republican presidential candidate, would that automatically close off your options?
Abraham Lincoln: This is not a static world scene, it's not a static situation in America, and it's not a static one politically. So I think that anyone who spent too much time or wasted their energy trying to figure out now what is going to happen in '75 in politics, forget it.

Question: What was the reaction of the Republican leadership this morning to the decision not to run?
Abraham Lincoln: Well, they are all pragmatists and they girded their loins and kept moving. There are had been certain rumors in the press and the media which did give them sort of an inkling of the backdrop situation.

Question: Governor, in terms of your service as governor of the state, there are a lot of pictures here of former governors. Theodore Roosevelt, your boyhood idol, stares



"As your duly elected governor I am resigning in order not to run for the Presidency!"

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down at us.
Abraham Lincoln: Thank you.

Question: How do you think history will treat you?
Abraham Lincoln: I'm less worried about history, to tell you the honest truth, now than I am about the future. But I do, would like to recall, as a little closing here, to let you know that my mind is always thinking about problems, in trying to understand them, I did sit in his lap once in our home and he had been over in Africa and been bringing back big game alive and I had been thinking a lot about it, and so I said, "The one thing I can't figure out is how did you bring the giraffes back on those flat cars when you went through a tunnel?" And he was marvelous and warm and friendly, and he said, "We had a pulley.and we'd pull their heads down before we went through the tunnel."

Question: Did you ask him how he became President?
Abraham Lincoln: No, sir. He was no longer President and at that point I wasn't too sharply focused on those political problems. I was more interested in the conservation aspects of our society.

Israel Shenker

MR. SHENKER *writes for* The New York Times.

College Cost Squeeze

Tuition Controversy

Few people got excited when the Congress of 1862 passed Justin Morrill's bill giving the states parcels of federal land to endow new agricultural and mechanical colleges. The *New York Tribune*, summarizing the session's achievements, didn't consider it important enough to mention. Yet Morrill's land-grant bill—riding the tide of Jacksonian democracy, westward expansion and the agricultural and industrial revolutions—hurried along the development of a remarkable set of colleges and universities. In time, these institutions—places like the University of California or Missouri or North Carolina—became the social ladders on which the sons and daughters of the lower middle class climbed into the professions. They took green farmboys and made them competent engineers, the sons of small merchants and trained them as lawyers, and eventually led women from housework into public school teaching. They did it by maintaining reasonably democratic admissions standards and low costs. As late as 10 years ago a state resident paid only $304 a year in undergraduate tuition and fees at the University of California. At Missouri $215, and at North Carolina $279. The national average for institutions of their type was $280. Figuring in room and board, a year of education cost around $1000.

In the past decade, however, their tuition gradually rose as these institutions slapped together dormitories and classrooms to handle thousands of new students, hired more professors and increased their salaries, and tried to prove to the Ivy League that the colleges of the common man could be first class. By last fall tuition and fees were up to $638 at California, $540 at Missouri and $439 at North Carolina. Nationally the median charge was around $520 a year—still something of a bargain. That $520 covered only about a sixth of what a student's education actually cost; most of the rest came from state and federal revenues—in effect, the taxes paid by those upwardly mobile engineers, lawyers and schoolteachers. This has been the accepted way of financing public higher education.

This low-tuition policy is now being challenged. The debate over its wisdom is laid out in two influential study commission reports: *Higher Education: Who Pays? Who Benefits? Who Should Pay?* by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (see *TNR*, Oct. 20, 1973) and *The Management and Financing of Colleges* by the business-dominated Committee for Economic Development (CED). Both urge a substantial boost in tuition at the public institutions. The Carnegie proposal envisions a less drastic rise than the CED's—about 10 to 12 percent a year over the next decade.

The reaction has been swift and angry. The CED proposal is "extremely dangerous," says AFL-CIO President George Meany, and would "shatter the hopes of workers to insure that their children have the advantages of higher education." It reflects "the vested interest of a handful of wealthy businessmen whose families won't be affected," says the president of the National Student Association. "As long as I am chairman [of the House subcommittee that writes legislation on student aid]," says Rep. James O'Hara (D, Mich.), "I can assure the good people at the Carnegie Commission and the Committee for Economic Development that I am going to be very inhospitable to [such] proposals." Both of the Washington-based associations that look after the interests of the public institutions, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (130 members) and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (310 members), have rushed to defend low tuition.

To understand the arguments, we have to go back a bit and pick up a couple of the major shifts that have taken place since World War II.

For one thing the country's private institutions have begun to suffer financially; the very existence of some is threatened. Because they rely on tuition income to cover about 60 percent of their expenses, they have been forced—as costs have risen—to raise tuition. From the fall of 1964 to the fall of 1971 their average tuition nationally rose from $979 a year to $1776, and it's higher now. The gap between this rate and what the public institutions charge means that the private

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schools are at a big disadvantage in recruiting students. Faced with paying $2690 a year at Boston University or $520 at the University of Massachusetts, for instance, a parent may well wonder whether there's that much difference in quality or prestige, if any. Many private institutions have empty seats in their classrooms, and the declining birthrate alone suggests that their plight will get worse.

In the last couple of decades the public sector has become the dominant partner in the higher education enterprise. Public institutions enrolled just about half of all students in 1950; now they have three-fourths. Public institutions—some of which have become more prestigious and higher quality than some of their private counterparts—now accommodate students from virtually all social classes, including the wealthy. At the University of Michigan, 12 percent of the freshmen in the fall of 1972 estimated that their families earned more than $40,000 a year; 43 percent put their parents in the over-$20,000 bracket. At the same time, despite recent gains by minorities, the children of families that earn less than $10,000 a year are still significantly underrepresented on college campuses. (The reasons of course, are only partly lack of money; going to college may have more to do with whether one was put in the college-prep "track" in high school.)

Given these trends the strategy of the Carnegie Commission and the CED is twofold: 1) Raise tuition and 2) provide adequate federal scholarships for the poor. Beyond this general agreement there are important differences. Carnegie would raise charges until they cover about a third of the cost of instruction (compared to the current one-sixth); CED wants them pegged at 50 percent of costs. Carnegie would string the increase out over 10 years; CED would spread it over five in the four-year institutions and over 10 years in the community colleges. The CED would keep the amount of tax money spent on higher education about the same as now, the extra dollars the colleges collect in tuition would be about all the new money that would be available for expanded student aid. Carnegie, on the other hand, would pour not only the extra tuition money into student aid, but additional millions in federal dollars as well.

The Carnegie report, which is the more detailed of the two, argues that its two-pronged policy would more equitably distribute the costs and benefits of higher education among the social classes than does the low-tuition device. The more affluent students (say those with family incomes of $15,000 a year or more) wouldn't be eligible for scholarships and would be forced to pay more nearly in line with their family capabilities. Poorer students (roughly those from families under $12,000 a year) would get scholarships. Students in the middle range ($12,000 to $15,000) would have to pay for their education out of savings or through loans. Part of the commission's case rests on the argument that many families can now afford higher tuition rates because their disposable incomes have (until very recently) been outstripping the rise in tuition.

Another major argument is that increased public tuition would help save the private colleges, which are viewed as an important source of diversity. If the private institutions keep their own tuition increases to about six percent a year, raising public tuition to one-third of costs would narrow the troublesome "tuition gap" from the current 4 to 1 to about 2½ to 1 by 1983. This new ratio, it is thought, would enable private institutions to compete for students more successfully.

The most formidable assault on this entire approach has come from the AASCU institutions, which are mostly ex-teachers' colleges with big middle-class clienteles. (Sixty percent of their students come from families that earn between $8000 and $20,000 a year.) Raising their rates would be vastly unfair to the middle class ($10,000 to $15,000 a year), they say, especially the lower end of the middle class. Higher tuition would mean that the well-to-do, who could get the money from home, would graduate debt free; the low-income could get scholarships and also graduate without the burden of debt; but middle-class students, unable to get either, would be forced to use up family savings (if any) or borrow heavily and spend their 20s paying back loans. That, the public institutions argue, is sticking it to the middle class.

It is also unfair, say the public institutions, to expect their students to pay higher rates to save the private sector. That amounts to taxing the six million students in public institutions to bail out colleges that enroll only two million. This makes about as much sense, says one president of a state university, "as forcing one person to undergo surgery because another person has appendicitis." It would be better to help the private institutions through direct institutional aid or through scholarships targeted for their students.

Another point raised by the public institutions is the possibility that both middle- and low-income students might get caught between the two prongs of the Carnegie-CED policy—tuition might go up, but student aid might not. Tuition rates and the funding of student-aid programs involve decisions by scores of people—officials of federal agencies like the Office of Management and Budget and the Office of Education, Congress, governors and state legislators, university trustees and administrators, voters in community college districts, and private bankers. The great danger, the public institutions believe, is that hard-pressed or fiscally conservative politicians might raise tuition and not use the revenue for student aid.

As an example of how student-aid funds are subject to shifting political and economic winds, one could cite the fate of the Basic Opportunity Grants program established by Congress in 1972 as part of a revised

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higher education act. The program authorized up to $1400 a year in aid for every student—minus whatever his family could be expected to contribute, given its income. But the appropriation level in the current year is so low that grants have been limited to freshmen and average only about $260.

The debate goes on. In a few weeks the National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education, set up to study alternatives to financial arrangements in the 1972 legislation, will report to the President and Congress. And that should heat up the controversy a few more degrees.

Larry Van Dyne

MR. VAN DYNE *writes for* The Chronicle of Higher Education.

When Were the Papers Identified?

Richard's Tax Almanac

by Walter Pincus

Ralph G. Newman is a respected appraiser of historic books, manuscripts and archives. Edward L. Morgan is now an assistant secretary of the Treasury but until this year he had served in the White House as a deputy counsel to President Nixon. Frank DeMarco is a California lawyer who, since 1969, has handled Mr. Nixon's taxes. Each is unknown to most Americans, but the chances are growing that as Mr. Nixon's taxes are thoroughly investigated in the coming months, these gentlemen will become as recognizable as Rose Mary Woods and J. Fred Buzhardt, whose fame spread during the inquiry into the 18-minute gap on the White House tapes. As with the tapes, Mr. Nixon's taxes and particularly the tax-deductible gift in 1969 of pre-presidential papers valued at $576,000, require a suspension of disbelief. And as with the tape gap, there is the possibility that a criminal act was involved.

In his November 17 appearance before the Associated Press managing editors, the President made one of his typical, misleading overstatements. Discussing why he paid less than $1000 in taxes on an earned personal income of over $250,000 in 1970 and 1971, he said it was "not because of the deductions for . . . gimmicks"; it was because Lyndon Johnson "came in to see me . . . and he told me that under the law, up until 1969, presidential and vice presidential papers given to the government were a deduction and should be taken, and could be taken as a deduction from the tax." Having credited the original idea to Johnson, Mr. Nixon went on to say he turned his papers "over to the tax people . . . They appraised them at $500,000." So when the tax people prepared his returns, they "took that as a deduction." But as can be seen from an inspection of those returns, as well as documents placed in the *Congressional Record* by Senator Lowell Weicker (who has run his own investigation) and interviews with various participants, the matter of the tax deductible papers is far more complex than the President's words would suggest.

Sometime after his election in 1968, Mr. Nixon and then President Johnson apparently did discuss the donation of papers. Johnson had since 1965 been availing himself of this "gimmick" to lower his taxable income. It was a simple thing: a public official had papers; he offered them to an educational institution or the government; the recipient put them in order and someone was brought in to appraise their value. Then, based on the appraised value and the donor's taxable income, all the papers were turned over at once, or given over a number of years with the deduction spread out.

Many officials have used this gimmick. And so in December 1968, Mr. Nixon or one of his aides got in touch with Mr. Newman, whose place of business is in Chicago. Newman had performed similar services for President Johnson. Around December 20 Mr. Newman went to New York City and reportedly identified donatable materials belonging to Mr. Nixon which were kept in the offices of Nixon's law firm and in a New York warehouse. Since the end of the tax year was fast approaching, a deed to this material was drawn up, supplemented by a list of 21 specifically identified cartons of papers, letters, books, tapes and memorabilia from various parts of Mr. Nixon's career. The deed turned the listed material over to the US government but reserved to the donor, Mr. Nixon, the right to limit

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access to the papers during his presidency to persons specifically designated by him. On Christmas Day 1968 Mr. Nixon signed the deed. The materials were said to have been delivered to the Federal Records Center in New York City on December 30, 1968 and accepted in writing by an official of the General Services Administration, which operates the National Archives and the presidential libraries.

Nothing more was done about these 1968 papers until mid-March 1969, when Mr. Nixon's tax returns were being prepared and a fuller description and appraisal of the 1968 gift were needed. On March 20, 1969 the 1968 papers were brought to Washington from New York and stored in stack area 14-W4 of the National Archives Building. The next day the assistant archivist for presidential papers, Daniel Reed, informed Mr. Newman that the '68 papers were being readied for examination by him in Washington.

That same week a retired member of the National Archives staff, Sherrod East, was asked to return as a consultant to help organize the pre-presidential Nixon papers. In the preceding months hundreds of cartons had been gathered together from warehouses around the country and even the garage of the President's brother, Donald. Initially they had been crowded into a room in a federal building a block from the White House. On March 25, 1969 it was decided to move the approximately 500 cartons and 17 file cabinets to stack area 19-E3 in the National Archives. The move took place over the next two days, but upon arrival at the Archives the cartons had to be stacked "four and five high, in no discernible order," according to a report Mr. East later made. "Our problems were further complicated by the indiscriminate mixing of all kinds of office property, memorabilia, books, mementos, audiovisual materials, etc., with the records of a long and varied public and private career," Mr. East added.

Before he and his staff could get to work sorting all this out, Mr. East was, he wrote, "diverted to perform priority arrangement, boxing and labeling of some 45 cubic feet of [Nixon] papers which had been hurriedly separated from his storage files and deeded to the US Government before December 31, 1968."

Mr. Newman arrived in Washington April 6, 1969 and stayed through April 8. In order for him to examine the 1968 gift—which East's group had by then put in order—a special document had to be drafted by Mr. Morgan in the White House permitting "limited right of access" to Newman. Mr. East recalls escorting Newman to the 1968 material in April 1969, and either East or one of his assistants remained with him during the entire time of his inspection. "To the best of my knowledge," East said recently, "he [Newman] looked only at the 1968 material." Since the larger batch of Nixon papers were held in a different area of the building, and since East was by then trying to unpack and organize *that* material, he holds quite firm to his recollection.

Archivist official Reed also has no personal knowledge of Newman's visiting the stack area where the newly arrived Nixon material was stored. And he has no access letter that would have permitted Newman to examine material other than that in the 1968 gift.

In discussing his April 1969 trip to Washington with recent questioners, Mr. Newman has been vague about whether he actually saw anything other than the 1968 gift. He has recalled that a Nixon aide or lawyer, perhaps DeMarco, told him that a $500,000 gift was being considered, so that the President would be able to carry forward a deduction of some $100,000 from his taxes for the coming five years. Newman has said he may have made a "ballpark estimate" of the value of the newly gathered material, based on a description of the amount involved. Mr. East, who was working on the new material, says that in April 1969, when Newman was there, most of it was in unidentified cartons and packing cases; no description of contents was possible. It was East's job over the next two months to put the papers and material in order so that Newman or someone else could see what papers were there and decide what was to be done with them. As far as Mr. East knew, the Nixon material he was working on in stack area 19 was to be organized "for reference and accessioning purposes." He and his associates then proceeded to identify the series of papers contained within the boxes.

While this was going on, Congress (and the Nixon administration) was working to close the tax loophole that allowed for the donating of deductible papers. No one expected the law to be changed prior to December 31, 1969.

East's work was done by the end of May, and in November 1969 Mr. Newman returned to stack 19 of the Archives to work on what was to become the 1969 gift. In that month he reportedly separated out 1176 National Archives boxes that he valued—for tax purposes—at $576,000. Of the material placed in the Archives on March 26, there remained at least 16 steel file cabinets, 64 boxes of sound tapes, 47 boxes of motion picture film, 28 boxes of memorabilia and hundreds of other Nixon document boxes that have not been deeded.

In late December the Congress closed the loophole: no deductions would be permitted on 1969 income taxes for material that had not been donated prior to July 25, 1969. The President's 1969 tax plans included about $100,000 to be deducted for donated papers. If he did not get it, he would be in a tax bind. His income that year had been inflated by $92,445 in capital gains from the sale of his Fisher's Island stock. Without the papers deduction the President probably would have had to pay $10,000 or more additional tax. As it was, he took a deduction of $95,298 for the papers and wound up with a tax refund of $35,301.

The manner in which the gift of the Nixon papers

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was accomplished has become the focus of investigation. On April 6, 1970, nine days before taxes were due, Mr. Newman drew up his appraisal of the 1969 gift. He said among other things that "from the sixth to the eighth day of April 1969," he or his employees did "examine the papers of Richard Milhous Nixon Part II." These were the papers which East and Reed now say Newman, to their knowledge, did not see at that time. Shortly thereafter on April 10, 1970, what purports to be a deed to the 1969 gift was delivered to the general counsel of GSA, parent agency to the Archives. That deed was dated March 27, 1969, the day the disorganized material arrived in stack area 19. The deed supposedly carried with it a list of the specific papers that made up the gift. The supposed original March 27 list is missing, and a 1970 replacement identifies the 1176 boxes in the Newman appraisal. But as Mr. East recently noted, those 1176 boxes did not exist as of March 27, 1969; on that date the material in them was scattered among 500 cartons and assorted file cabinets. Furthermore Mr. Newman did not segregate that material until November 1969.

Of particular interest to investigators—looking into the possibility that this deed was drawn up well *after* the July 25 gift deadline—is the fact that Deputy Counsel Morgan signed it on behalf of the President. The President did not himself sign it as he had for the 1968 gift. No power of attorney document from the President accompanied the deed. There is only an affidavit that Nixon lawyer DeMarco notarized. As a notary under California law, DeMarco should have kept a record book establishing the date this document was signed, irrespective of the date it carries. DeMarco had no such record.

The outlines of the impending tax investigations are clear. Newman will be questioned on what he did in April 1969 about the 1969 gift. Lawyer DeMarco and the White House have claimed that Newman at that time examined, designated and segregated the gift. The man who was then working directly with the papers says no such work was done. Newman may also be questioned on the bases for his appraisal. Of the 1968 gift, 9000 items were classified as "children's letters," 1000 were clippings from the 1960 campaign, and 8000 were from overseas trips taken by the Vice President. Of the 1969 gift 57,000 items were listed as foreign trips by the Vice President, the bulk of the material—414,000 of a total of 600,000 items—being general correspondence between 1953 and 1961.

DeMarco and Morgan almost certainly will be questioned on the long delayed deed to the 1969 gift. Secretaries and typists who drafted the pertinent documents will also be questioned.

On his tax returns for four years—1969 through 1972—Mr. Nixon deducted $482,019.87 as charitable contributions (i.e., the gift of his papers). Add to that the $60,000 to $80,000 he claimed as a deduction for the earlier gift of papers in 1968 and the $94,300 on his '69 gift which he may still claim against his 1973 taxes, and you come up with a possible deduction of $640,000.

Henry and Bill

The Kissinger-Fulbright Courtship

by Stanley Karnow

Spurred by the Watergate scandals, Congress is actively striving to assert itself against the authority of a President whose power had until recently soared to imperial proportions. But in the midst of this struggle a curiously warm relationship is developing between two figures in hostile camps. Senator J. William Fulbright and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger are locked in an affectionate embrace that would have been hard to imagine not long ago, when Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee stood in the vanguard of the resistance to the administration's policies abroad. Some observers on Capitol Hill regard the love affair as temporary; others see it as a more durable companionate marriage. In any case Fulbright and Kissinger are on a honeymoon, and that raises the question of whether the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is shifting from its adversary role to an acceptance of consensus, and, in the process, returning to the kind of bipartisan approach that, during the years following World War II, made it a rubber stamp of the White House.

Kissinger has been wooing Fulbright and the 16

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other committee members since his confirmation in September. He has met with them in closed session on four occasions within recent weeks to discuss the Middle East crisis and US problems in Western Europe, and, according to Senate sources, he will probably meet with them publicly early next year. He telephones Fulbright almost daily either to chat about foreign policy issues or to enlist his help in overcoming obstacles in the Senate, and, to a lesser degree, he keeps in touch with other senators. After his frustrated efforts to cope with the intractable Dean Rusk and the impenetrable William Rogers, Fulbright hails Kissinger as "a very dramatic change," and most of his colleagues concur. "Kissinger has taken pains to keep us informed," says Senator George Aiken, the committee's ranking Republican, and Senator Jacob Javits praises the secretary's "candor." Senator Edmund Muskie "respects" Kissinger's analytical skill, and a senior member of the committee staff finds him the most impressive secretary of State since John Foster Dulles because "he is obviously the man in charge, whatever his views." Several senators have reservations about Kissinger, though they welcome the attention he is paying them. A few suspect his integrity, and some fear the spell of his charm and brilliance. Clifford Case of New Jersey, who holds that the committee ought to be neither "unfriendly nor cozy" toward a representative of the executive branch, submits for instance that "we should walk a little wide," and Frank Church, who has no serious complaints against Kissinger, nevertheless expresses concern that "we may be taken into the fold." Fulbright, who was intimate with Lyndon Johnson before the Dominican Republic intervention and the Vietnam conflict tore them apart, is sensitive to this danger, but he is willing to give Kissinger the benefit of the doubt—at least for the moment. When asked the other day how he knows whether Kissinger is being honest with him, Fulbright referred to his experience with Johnson and said: "I'll accept his word until he deceives me."

Kissinger would certainly have courted Fulbright and the others earlier had he not been restrained by two factors. He realized, for one thing, that the White House during President Nixon's first term had nothing but disdain for Congress, and he would have irritated loyalists like John Ehrlichman and Bob Haldeman more by climbing Capitol Hill than he did by attending Georgetown parties. Moreover he was reluctant to enter a domain that, he thought, fell within Rogers' sphere. But with those rivals gone, he is free to seek friends on the Hill. The flirtation has practical as well as idealistic purposes. Recalling the turbulence of Germany during his childhood there, Kissinger has a passion for stable government, and while he is convinced that decision-making is an elitist exercise, he recognizes, as he has written, that the "acid test of a policy . . . is its ability to obtain domestic support." By keeping in close touch with Congress, he is trying to pursue a foreign policy that rests "on a broad national base" and reflects "a shared community of values," as he put it during his confirmation hearings before the committee three months ago. At the same time, however, the secretary is aware of Mr. Nixon's weakness, and despite Gerald Ford's promise to retain him, Kissinger seems to be maneuvering to improve his standing with Congress in order to cushion himself against the possibility of the President's downfall. He also apparently hopes that he can mobilize the strength to face the challenge he expects from Senator Henry Jackson, whose hostility to his Middle East strategy and his détente with the Soviet Union is bound to escalate as the 1976 presidential elections draw near. Kissinger undoubtedly admires Jackson's organizational efficiency and attraction to power more than he esteems Fulbright's sometimes vague, indecisive liberalism, which must appear to him to be redolent of the Weimar Republic. But Kissinger has never been known to reject acclaim and besides the Fulbright committee offers him an avenue into Congress.

Fulbright's approbation of Kissinger stems, first of all, from agreement with his policies. The senator has long favored détente with the Soviet Union and a rapprochement with China, and, more recently, he has discovered in Kissinger a sympathetic ear for his contention that pressure must be brought to bear on Israel in order to reach a settlement in the Middle East. Fulbright also shares Kissinger's impatience with Henry Jackson, whom he assails as "the symbol of the military-industrial complex." And in addition to his respect for Kissinger's intellect, he seems to feel more comfortable as a trusted "insider" who is regularly consulted by the secretary of State than he ever did as the nation's most prestigious opponent of the Vietnam war. Despite his feud with Lyndon Johnson, Fulbright's private office is still adorned with autographed photographs of himself with the late President, one of them bearing the inscription: "To Bill. I can see I haven't been very persuasive." According to one of the senator's aides, he squirms at the label of "dissenter," preferring Walter Lippmann's remark that "he is not listened to on the floor of Congress until he has been heard around the world." As the aide explains: "Fulbright is not a zealot. He gave respectability to the antiwar movement, but he based his opposition on rational judgment rather than emotion, and he was always worried by the long-haired demonstrators who saluted him as their leader. He is not an operator, but a philosopher and commentator who would rather be right than popular. In other words, he is an 18th-century man—and a lousy politician."

Fulbright campaigns successfully at home in Arkansas, where he has handily won every election since he first entered the Senate in 1944. But his record as an efficient legislator has been rather spotty. One of the few major acts he has sponsored, nearly three

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decades ago, established the international scholarship program that bears his name, and one of his rare floor fights, waged in December 1970, produced an amendment to bar US combat troops from Laos and Thailand and set the pattern for the later law promoted by Church and John Sherman Cooper to prevent the deployment of American ground forces in Cambodia. Beyond that Fulbright tends to dissipate his legislative energies on relatively minor matters, and usually loses. He has repeatedly failed to close down Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, whose propaganda broadcasts continue to pierce the porous Iron Curtain, and his chronic attempts to reduce the budget of the US Information Agency are invariably unsuccessful. He recently mustered a majority of his committee against the military aid bill, only to see it win by a narrow margin in the Senate. These defeats generally send him back to his office to grumble that he lacks the sort of institutional backing enjoyed by a senator like John Stennis, whose Armed Services Committee is bulwarked by the Pentagon. But his setbacks are often due to his refusal to bargain or compromise, and this is mirrored in the fact that several of his colleagues on the Foreign Relations Committee have individually outstripped him in sponsoring significant foreign policy legislation. Case and Church initiated the amendment that compelled the administration to stop bombing Cambodia in August and prohibits any US air strikes elsewhere in Indochina, and Javits led the Senate in passing the act that set some limits on the President's power to wage war. Another vital law in the field of foreign affairs, denying tariff privileges to the Soviet Union, was propelled through the Senate by Fulbright's nemesis, Henry Jackson, who does not sit on the Foreign Relations Committee. These senators mainly operate with their own staffs, which are talented in the parliamentary arts. Fulbright forbids his committee staff to lobby; in his view its function is to educate rather than legislate.

Nor does Fulbright try to control his committee in the same way that Stennis has dominated Armed Services or the late Allen Ellender managed Appropriations. He considers it to be a forum somewhat like the Council on Foreign Relations, rather than an instrument, and it is therefore, in the words of one of its members, "an amorphous collection of egos and viewpoints" whose effectiveness as a group is limited. Composed of senior senators whose age averages 63.5 years, it includes a former Vice President, Hubert Humphrey, a couple of former presidential aspirants, George McGovern and Edmund Muskie, a former vice presidential candidate, John Sparkman, and a possible future presidential nominee, Charles Percy. Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield and minority leader Hugh Scott as well as Republican whip Robert Griffin are members, and so is Jacob Javits, who is estimated to belong to about 20 other committees, subcommittees, commissions and conferences, darting in and out of them all with no visible signs of strain. These assorted commitments mean that, apart from Fulbright, few of its members have much time or stamina for committee endeavors. Mansfield's subcommittee on Far Eastern affairs, for example, has not met in three years, and other ancillary groups seldom convene. Those more or less active are Church, Muskie, Humphrey, Case, Percy, Javits and Stuart Symington, who has lately switched the bulk of his attention to the Armed Services Committee. The committee usually splits on issues rather than along party lines, with conservative Republicans and Democrats like Griffin and McGee aligned against liberal Republicans and Democrats like Case and Church.

Consonant with his concept of the committee as an educational forum, Fulbright has encouraged staff investigations of official American activities overseas. The most probing of these, organized under the auspices of Symington's subcommittee on US security agreements and commitments abroad, were originally conducted by Walter Pincus and Roland Paul and carried on since then by James Lowenstein and Richard Moose, and some of their revelations would have earned them Pulitzer prizes had they been newsmen. Among other disclosures, Pincus and Paul documented the "secret war" then being waged in Laos by tribal mercenaries trained and subsidized by the Central Intelligence Agency. They also brought to light the astonishing fact that the US was pledged to defend Thailand under a clandestine accord between Dean Rusk and the Thai foreign minister that had never been ratified by the Senate, as treaties are supposed to be according to the Constitution. That discovery prompted Senator Case and others to launch their own investigations into the use of so-called "executive agreements" as substitutes for formal treaties in order to bypass the Senate, and their probe has yielded amazing results. Between 1940 and 1970, they found, successive Presidents signed 5653 "executive agreements" but only 310 treaties received Senate approval, and these unratified commitments include such historic conventions as the Yalta accords and the Vietnam cease-fire as well as an understanding to protect Spain. Case has succeeded in forcing the administration to reveal all past "executive agreements" to Congress, and he is working to make future accords authentic treaties requiring Senate ratification.

Since taking on their fact-finding assignment four years ago, Lowenstein and Moose have uncovered the inner workings of the administration's bombing campaign in Cambodia and examined American support for the Greek dictatorship, and their latest report, which appeared early this month, provides the first authoritative account of US nuclear options in Europe. The account will be their last. They are planning to quit the staff within the coming months, and although their departure will leave a large gap in the commit-

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tee's investigative capacities, many senators may not notice their absence. Few found the time or had the inclination to read their reports, and some apparently resented the press coverage they received. Senator Aiken, who insisted on approving their trips, considered them a luxury. "Their stuff was sometimes useful but you can get the same thing downtown," he told me. "They often took those foreign trips because nobody knew what to do with them."

Some of Fulbright's finest hours were his open hearings. He opened up mainland China with a session of experts long before President Nixon visited Peking, and his devastating televised interrogation of Dean Rusk on Vietnam just after the 1968 Tet Offensive vividly stimulated the drive for peace by showing that prominent senators were also fed up with the war. But although committee hearings have become increasingly important as floor debate in Congress declines, Fulbright has convened few within recent years. The committee ignored the South Asia war of 1971 in which the administration "tilted" in favor of Pakistan despite its protestations of neutrality. The more recent hearings on Chile conducted by McGee's subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs were closed; so was Kissinger's testimony on the Middle East crisis and US relations with Europe. The committee's only major public hearing this year was staged in September to confirm Kissinger as secretary of State, and it was a disappointment. Kissinger had vowed beforehand to explain the administration's "philosophies, purposes and policies to the public," but members of the committee made little effort to draw him out. They neglected to review in detail his past and present views on subjects ranging from Indochina, the Middle East and Latin America to arms control and international monetary matters, and they failed to explore such grand strategies as the Nixon Doctrine, the Atlantic Charter and Kissinger's balance of power concept, whose real meaning has never been fully clarified by official spokesmen. They could have also used the encounter to set up guidelines to govern the future relationship between the executive and legislative branches in the foreign policy realm, but they chose instead to skim the surface, sidestepping tough questions about Kissinger's role in the wiretapping of his subordinates. Some of those questions, prepared for the senators by the committee staff, were never posed. It seemed to me as I sat through those sessions that even the more dynamic senators were, despite their rhetoric, essentially less interested in challenging Kissinger than in participating in his power, and their gentle treatment appeared to signal their receptivity to a truce with the administration of foreign affairs. The committee's accommodations to Kissinger since then tend to confirm that impression.

Looking back on congressional attitudes toward foreign policy, the pattern has zigzagged with the mood of the moment and the political coloration of the administration in office. In 1951 Senator Nixon of California opposed President Truman's decision to station US troops in Europe, and, in that debate, he clashed with Fulbright, then an advocate of unobstructed White House influence. Two decades later their positions are reversed as Mr. Nixon seeks to curb Congress and Fulbright denounces him for cultivating "a cult of personality." During the intervening years, there emerged a bipartisan approach largely made possible by Senator Arthur Vandenberg's assertion that "politics stops at the water's edge." Frances Wilcox, who headed the Foreign Relations Committee staff throughout much of that period, recalls only one instance during the entire 80th Congress when the committee failed to deliver a unanimous vote on a crucial policy issue. As a consequence the Senate overwhelmingly approved the United Nations Charter, a number of peace treaties and a network of security pacts as well as aid to Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan and the Point Four Program.

Ironically it was Fulbright who introduced the Tonkin Gulf resolution to the Senate after pushing it through a joint Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committee meeting. The resolution was endorsed in August 1965 by a landslide vote of 82 to 2 in the Senate and 416 to 0 in the House. Fulbright regards that episode as the most humiliating of his life and argues that he was misled by Lyndon Johnson's promise to avoid getting "tied down in a land war in Asia." Yet his real break with Johnson did not come until nearly a year later, when Fulbright openly criticized the intervention of US marines in the Dominican Republic under the pretext of protecting American citizens but really in reaction to flimsy evidence of an alleged Communist takeover. That rupture set Fulbright on the road to dissidence, and the skepticism toward the White House he was among the first to display eventually infected other members of Congress. As a consequence he set in motion a trend that has been running toward a larger congressional role in foreign policy.

Kissinger is one of the most formidable politicians in Washington, and for all his eagerness to bolster himself with the support of Congress, he ardently wants to prevent the legislature from swaying his policies. Some Capitol Hill specialists contend that the Foreign Relations Committee can counterbalance Kissinger without usurping his authority by reinforcing its staff, stimulating its investigative functions, and, above all, inspiring its members to show a livelier interest in its operations. If not, they warn, Kissinger will build up his power to the point where his promises to cooperate with the committee become hollow. At the moment Fulbright seems to be unperturbed by that prospect. But, judging from his past performance, his only loyalties are to his own convictions, and, if ruffled, he is likely to dissent again though he detests the role.

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There's More to the Story

CIA and the Plumbers

by Tad Szulc

Secret White House domestic and foreign intelligence operations conducted in the name of "national security" outside regular government channels have been much more numerous than is publicly known, and several of them have drawn on the resources of the Central Intelligence Agency despite repeated official disclaimers. They raise serious new questions about the role of President Nixon and the CIA in a number of events. The story of additional activities by the Plumbers and operations undertaken by the White House before and after the formal creation of this special unit in mid-1971, is likely to emerge in trials that follow a new series of indictments expected to be returned during January by Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski.

These undisclosed operations are said to include:

► Secret support, outside CIA channels, for the regime of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda late in 1970, to help him weather a conspiracy to oust him. The White House appeared to be concerned that Kaunda's overthrow by radicals, possibly including Chinese agents, might lead to the seizure of private US copper investments in Zambia. Kaunda reportedly received electronic equipment to tap the telephones and homes of Zambian officials he suspected of plotting. Coincidentally a nephew of the late President Eisenhower was shipping such equipment to Zambia.

► Burglary, or attempts at burglary, at the New York and Washington offices of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, apparently in search of personal data on its top officials, including ITT's President Harold S. Geneen, and other sensitive documents.

► The use of CIA officials attached to the secret Anglo-American intelligence group located at the British Embassy in Washington to secure information on the background of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg after the surfacing of the Pentagon papers in June 1971. The White House bypassed the usual CIA channels here.

► Supply of equipment and false identification papers to the Plumbers' Cuban-American task force by CIA offices in Miami and San Francisco in support of the raid on the offices of Ellsberg's psychiatrist, the Watergate break-ins and other operations.

Jaworski, who has made it clear he will not be deterred in his investigations by White House invocations of "national security," is believed to expect a new breakthrough in the area of the Plumbers' operations after indictments are handed down by a Washington federal grand jury looking into the September 1971 raid on the Beverly Hills offices of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Among those expected to be indicted are John D. Ehrlichman, former head of the White House Domestic Council; former White House Special Counsel Charles W. Colson; G. Gordon Liddy, one of the Plumbers; and the three Cuban-Americans who carried out the Fielding raid: Bernard L. Barker, Eugenio Martinez and Felipe de Diego. Egil Krogh, Jr., who pleaded guilty last November 30 to a single charge of criminal conspiracy in the Fielding burglary, is regarded as the star witness for the prosecution, having discarded his "national security" defense.

Prosecutors hope that Krogh will "break wide open" the White House domestic intelligence operations. One source predicts that Krogh's testimony in a trial "may blow the White House out of the water," touching upon everything from the President's own knowledge of various operations to the role of the CIA. Hunt, sources say, will risk contempt of court if he refuses to testify. Ehrlichman, Liddy and Young were indicted earlier by a Los Angeles grand jury, but the California trial has been delayed until April 15 and may be cancelled because the Fielding break-in is now considered part of federal jurisdiction in Washington under the provisions of Title 18 of the US Penal Code.

New information available suggests that the White House was engaged in secret intelligence operations even before the publication of the Pentagon papers and other news leaks led, as alleged by the White House, to the establishment of the Krogh-Young-Hunt-Liddy special unit.

Aside from White House efforts to obtain information in 1969 on the Chappaquiddick incident involving Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, presidential aides are said to have launched private intelligence operations abroad, chiefly because of their distrust of the CIA under the former director, Richard Helms. For instance it is believed that the White House became fearful about Zambia—and the continued supply of copper—about the time the late Salvador Allende Gossens was elected president in Chile, in September 1970, and moved toward the nationalization of American copper companies there. Kaunda is believed to have been in serious danger in October 1970, and pressure on the

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White House to act may have come from the copper companies.

From what I can learn, the White House dispatched its own unidentified agents to the African country to help Kaunda neutralize his enemies. What remains unclear is whether there was a link between that intervention and a contract held by a Washington public relations man and an outstanding Nixon fund-raiser, to supply Kaunda with bugging and other electronic equipment. The man is Michael Doud Gill, nephew of Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower, who served in 1968 as assistant chairman of United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew. Gill, a friend of President Kaunda, said in a recent newspaper interview that the Zambian had fears of the Chinese who exert considerable influence in neighboring Tanzania. Speaking of the equipment supplied to Kaunda, Gill said that "they were bugging their own officials." Gill's contract came to light in September when his former partner, Marshall Soghoian, was charged in Washington, DC with acting as an unregistered foreign agent for Zambia. Soghoian is free on an unusually high $100,000 bond pending grand jury investigations. Gill said Soghoian had stolen his contract with the Zambians.

The alleged burglary attempts at ITT offices occurred in 1971 and 1972 as a form of "double insurance" after the corporation offered one million dollars in contributions to the CIA to prevent the inauguration of President Allende in Chile and $400,000 to the Republican Party in connection with an antitrust suit.

I have been told that "in case of complications, the White House people wanted to have in their hands a lot of personal information about Geneen and others." Testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee by former White House investigators, the Plumbers' forerunners, showed that investigations of personal habits of those of interest to the White House was a frequent procedure. But it cannot be excluded that the Plumbers also looked for incriminating documents concerning 1971 meetings between top administration figures and ITT officials, which resulted in the corporation's success in avoiding antitrust action after its purchase of an insurance company. It should be recalled that in 1972 Hunt was sent to Denver by the White House to persuade Dita Beard, the ITT lobbyist, to say that her memo on the secret deal was a forgery.

COMING: John Osborne looks back over Richard Nixon's bad year

Perhaps the most complicated aspect of the Plumbers' operations was their relationship with the CIA. Helms, William E. Colby, the agency's present director and other senior officials have denied in public and in executive sessions before congressional committees that there was any "involvement" with Watergate. Instead they charged White House officials sought to use CIA for the subsequent cover-up. But discrepancies and contradictions raise the question whether the CIA's denial might not have been a "technical denial."

The first discrepancy involves dates. In his May 22 speech President Nixon said that the first meeting he held with Ehrlichman and Krogh for the purpose of setting up an operation to prevent news leaks was on *July 24*, 1971. But the record of the Watergate hearings showed that Ehrlichman first called General Robert E. Cushman, Jr., then CIA deputy director, as early as *July 7* to arrange for a visit by Hunt. Cushman and Hunt met on July 22. Hunt, a CIA veteran (and a friend of General Cushman, who attended Hunt's retirement party the year before), had come to ask CIA help for a "one-time" interview with an unspecified person. The CIA gave him a wig, a speech-alteration device, a small camera, a tape recorder and two sets of false documents. Later, on Hunt's request, the CIA also provided Liddy with false documents.

As it is now known, Hunt was part of a larger operation designed to uncover compromising information about Ellsberg. This was the reason for the Fielding raid. The White House was convinced that Ellsberg may have had access to other classified materials after he made the Pentagon papers available to the press, and that he might be turning them over to the Soviet government. This suspicion, I am told, led the White House to turn to the British for a secret check on Ellsberg's activities during the year he spent at Cambridge University in 1953. The notion at the White House was that Ellsberg may have had contacts with Harold (Kim) Philby, the British intelligence operative who turned out to be a key Soviet espionage agent.

Ehrlichman arranged for the Hunt interview with Cushman about the same time he turned to the joint Anglo-American intelligence group in Washington for information on Ellsberg's Cambridge days. The joint intelligence group functions under an agreement providing for temporary service by CIA agents with MI-6, the British intelligence service, and vice versa. Normally intelligence requests from the US government to the joint group go through CIA headquarters. In this instance, however, Ehrlichman contacted the group directly through a CIA representative. MI-6 passed on the request to MI-5, the British counterespionage agency. The answer on Ellsberg was negative. It is not known whether the CIA official in question apprised Helms of the Ehrlichman request. Investigators think, however, that it is significant that Ehrlichman was acting in the Ellsberg case almost three weeks before

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Nixon, according to his own statement, gave the go-ahead on the Plumbers' unit. The suspicion arises whether secret domestic intelligence operations may not have been initiated even earlier. According to one version, the White House obtained information on April 17, 1971, that Ellsberg was preparing to turn the Pentagon papers over to the press. The first installment was published in *The New York Times* on June 13.

As far as the CIA's subsequent role is concerned, most investigators are willing to accept Helms' and Colby's technical disclaimer that the agency was "not involved" in Watergate, although they wonder how much the CIA knew about Plumber operations in general.

In October Barker, Martinez and Virgilio R. Gonzales, three of the five Watergate raiders, swore that they knew that equipment for the Fielding and Watergate burglaries as well as false documents for all of them were supplied by the CIA. These claims are contained in affidavits filed in support of a motion, later denied by Judge John J. Sirica, to be allowed to change their pleas from guilty to not guilty in the Watergate affair. A source close to the investigation says that "it would be incredible for them at this late date to commit perjury" in affidavits seeking a favorable court decision.

Barker, a former CIA employee, said in his affidavit that "it appeared to me that the equipment, disguises and fake identification papers that were used in the [Fielding] operation were the type that were used and prepared by the CIA, and at some point Mr. Hunt confirmed my belief and advised that this equipment had been provided by the CIA." Speaking of the Watergate raid, Barker said that "As was the case with the Fielding office entry, fake identification papers that were used in the Watergate entries had been prepared by the CIA." Martinez, who still was on a CIA monthly retainer at the time of the Watergate break-in, said in his affidavit that "equipment which was used during the operation which included mechanical equipment, disguises and false identification papers were the type I associated with the CIA and I was told by Mr. Hunt that the agency had supplied the equipment."

It is of course possible that Hunt was lying to his own men to make it appear that the CIA was behind all the Plumber operations. But there is no question that the CIA provided false papers to the Cuban-Americans through its "Green Light" group in Miami. The "Green Light" group, a section of the CIA station in Miami headed by William Davis, specializes in screening Cuban refugees from the island to determine whether they may be engaged as agents to be infiltrated back to Cuba. It has ample facilities for clandestine work. Eugenio Martinez worked for "Green Light." Neither Helms nor his associates were ever asked by the Senate Watergate Committee whether the CIA had provided false documents to the Cuban-Americans, in addition to the papers CIA gave Hunt and Liddy. Helms has indirectly denied that the CIA provided the Plumbers with burglary equipment, but sources claim it did come from the agency's office in Burlingame, a suburb of San Francisco. Helms testified that he learned about the Fielding break-in only last May and that "I was assured by the CIA that equipment given Hunt was not used in the break-in."

It is possible that the CIA's top echelon simply chose to look the other way after supplying the Plumbers with their needs on the theory that in dealing with the White House, "What you don't know, doesn't hurt you." It is also possible that Helms, personally distrusted by the White House, was kept in the dark by subordinates. Nixon claims *his* subordinates failed to inform *him*. There is no other explanation for the CIA's apparent lack of interest in Hunt's activities after he had requested assistance from General Cushman. Hunt, after all, had been a fairly important CIA official and his involvement in national security areas on the White House's behalf could not have failed to arouse professional interest in the agency. In his testimony, however, Helms insisted the CIA became interested in Hunt and the others, all former CIA employees, only *after* Watergate. Cushman testified that it would be unlikely for the CIA to provide aid without the clearance by headquarters. This, then, leaves officially unanswered the question of where the Cuban-Americans got their false documents found on them after they were arrested at Watergate.

Investigators reject published allegations that Martinez kept the CIA informed throughout of the Plumbers' operations. They believe that the agency may have been willing to provide support for them, but eschew any knowledge of what they did—at least in the initial stages. On this controversial point, Martinez' sworn affidavit throws new and interesting light: ". . . I broached the name of Mr. Hunt with my [CIA] supervising agent sometime around the time of the Fielding office entry. The subsequent response I received from my supervising agent indicated to me that he had not been informed by his superiors and accordingly, that I was not supposed to disclose any information about these operations to him."

At this point if Martinez is telling the truth, the CIA was indeed looking the other way. But Martinez goes on: "At some point, either shortly before the first Watergate or between the first and second Watergate entry, my supervising agent in the Miami area made an inquiry of me with respect to any information I had regarding activities of Mr. Hunt." This contradicts directly Helms' testimony. Martinez said he refused to answer on national security grounds. But a few days later, on June 17, 1972, the CIA had its answer about Hunt. Other answers about the Plumbers—and about the innumerable contradictions in the Watergate matter—should emerge when Krogh & Co. begin to testify.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

A King in New York
(Classic Entertainment)

When Charles Chaplin and his family were aboard the *Queen Elizabeth* in September 1952, en route to Europe, he got a message from Attorney General McGranery informing him that he would be barred from reentry into the US, that before he could reenter he would have to go before an Immigration Department board of inquiry to answer political and moral charges. This governmental action was the outgrowth of an atmosphere of McCarthyist red-baiting—not unexacerbated, it must be said, by Chaplin's windy political pronouncements and his much-publicized amorous career. But neither his political views nor his loves would have caused much governmental stir except for the temper of the times. Naturally Chaplin chose not to appear before an inquiry board. He and his family settled in Switzerland, and he returned to this country only 20 years later, by invitation, to receive honors.

In 1957 he made *A King in New York* in England, his comment on the matters sketched above. It has not been shown in the US until now. King Shadhov (Chaplin), of Country X, flees just before a revolution and arrives in New York with money, he thinks, and with plans for the peaceful use of atomic energy which he hopes to sell. His money is stolen by his crooked minister, and the Atomic Energy Commission (when he finally sees them) isn't interested in his plans. He falls, or throws himself, into the clutches of a pretty advertising woman who uses various tricks to persuade him to make TV commercials and to endorse products. He's broke so he agrees. On a visit to a progressive school he meets a bright, politically minded boy, and after some adventures with the boy, whose radical parents are subpoenaed by HUAC, and after a subpoena of his own, Shadhov leaves the US. He will join his estranged queen in Paris who, despite her announcement at the beginning, will not divorce him. He leaves the pretty young American ad woman, and the current American madness (which he hopes will end soon); he returns to Europe with American money.

The film is produced in typical Chaplin style—tackily. The lighting, photography, settings and editing are banal and cheap. The music is music-hall. The concern for accuracy is so small that, in what is supposed to be New York, the doors to a theater orchestra are labeled "Stalls," an elevator is labeled "Lift," and in a street scene we see the office of a famous London bookmaker. The direction is, as always, Chaplin-centered and theater-oriented. Most of the actors seem hardly to have been directed at all, and the predominant motions of the film are of actors' entrances and exits, rather than any intrinsic cinematic mode. The cast is generally execrable. Dawn Addams, the ad woman, is almost as disastrous as Marilyn Nash in *Monsieur Verdoux*. Chaplin's son Michael, then 10 years old, as the precocious boy, shows he can memorize and imitate but has no talent. Only Maxine Audley as the queen and Oliver Johnston as Shadhov's faithful aide are adequate.

The script, by Chaplin, seems a series of ad hoc inventions with only the vaguest general plan. Whenever the phone rings or the door-buzzer sounds in Shadhov's hotel suite, which is the story's "basic" set, you know that the sagging plot is going to get another boost. The satire on American witch-hunting is, surprisingly, more forbearing and avuncularly patient than vindictive, and it ends, inexplicably, with a newspaper headline in which Shadhov is called a friendly witness—after his protests against repression and after some courtroom horseplay with a fire-hose. The script has much more effective satire on film violence, wide screens and TV commercialism. The one consistency in this adventitious collection of bits is that most of the seeming disasters turn out to be advantageous. Shadhov is trapped by a hidden camera into making a TV spectacle of himself, and it transforms him into a celebrity. He "blows" a TV whiskey commercial by coughing, and it makes him a comedy hit. The implication—that nothing is too ridiculous for American success if only it's sufficiently "exposed"—is much better satire than any of the political stuff. And into the midst of all this topical satire Chaplin thrusts his inevitable Dickensian strand—the lonely misunderstood schoolboy who at one point is even shivering in the snow when Shadhov rescues him. (The script's one truly serious note is the fate of this boy, who is warped by government pressure.)

If this film were by and with anyone else—a stupidly impossible conjecture—it would simply be bad. But being Chaplin's, it has many fascinations, even in its faults. It's the last film he will ever make—he subsequently directed the unfortunate *Countess from Hong Kong* (1966) but appeared only briefly in it—and it's one that makes ultraclear what happened to his latter-day career. As political satire it's feeble, as cultural satire it's moderately keen; as self-revelation by Chaplin, it's an essential work.

First, it shows most vividly how schizoid the later Chaplin had become. In all Chaplin films up to *The Great Dictator*, there was only one Chaplin, the Tramp. In the anti-Nazi film he played two roles which at least were tonally related; the real split came at the end when he launched into the long, controversial speech. There the "serious" Chaplin divorced himself from the clown, as if in fear that the clown, whose very persona had won him his claims to seriousness, was no longer serious enough—or not explicitly serious. That schism increased in his three final pictures, *Monsieur Verdoux*, *Limelight* (Calvero is distinctly not the Tramp), and this one. In *A King in New York* the schism between comedy and seriousness is not only deepened but takes on another color. Shadhov represents not only Chaplin's politically and socially conscious self but Chaplin himself as King—the King that the Tramp had made him! The Tramp had brought to Chaplin all the perquisites and prerogatives that are here Shadhov's: the

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

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SK

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Reconsideration

Men and Politics

The elevation of selfishness to the level of a first principle is at once the genius and flaw of the American political system. For nearly two centuries politicians on the stump and teachers in the schoolhouse have regaled their audience with the story of American democracy. The Declaration of Independence is held out, in the main, for its opposition to tyranny and its affirmation of "certain unalienable rights." The emphasis is naturally placed on "life" and "liberty," but it was in fact "the pursuit of happiness," Jeffersonian code for "property," which became the basis for governing the new nation.

The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It
by Richard Hofstadter
Originally published in 1948
by Knopf; $4
Now available from
Knopf; $7.95

If Locke and Montesquieu inspired the Founding Fathers in 1776, by 1787 the Fathers perceived the world through the eyes of Hobbes. The "latent causes of faction," warned Madison in *Federalist* No. 10 were "sown in the nature of man." The amazing balancing act which issued from the Constitutional Convention in that hot Philadelphia summer was at best a distant cousin of the radical document which cut the cord to England. The authors of the Constitution were "men of principle and property," and their undisguised object was to protect property and its unequal distribution. The power of government was divided among competing interests because, in Madison's phrase, "ambition must be made to counteract ambition." Government was less a means to control these interests than a forum in which the interests themselves would resolve conflict. For politicians compromise became the operative principle.

When *The American Political Tradition* was first published in 1948 it attracted modest attention. It received a favorable if brief review (one and one-half columns) in this journal, but the reviewer lamented that "the book . . . probably will have no general sale." How wrong he was. In the past quarter-century it has been through 11 printings, more than a million copies, and several languages. Some academicians believe its influence on historians will rank with Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913).

In 1967, when Hofstadter reassessed his work of the '40s on the occasion of the book's publication in Hebrew, he confessed to certain misgivings. The title, he said, was the work of his editor; his preference had been *Men and Ideas in American Politics*. While the editor's choice may have enhanced book sales, it raised problems for the author. His emphasis was clearly on individuals in American politics, not on a tradition he had not explicitly set out to define. His object, he wrote in 1967, was *not* "to establish some single overarching theory about American politics or American political leadership, but rather to make a number of critical comments on certain political figures."

The 50-year-old Hofstadter took issue with the younger man: "I was somewhat disposed to downgrade the men I was writing about, even though I was well aware that the general guiding ideas of American politicians were not their strongest point." Although Hofstadter's departure from hero-worship was responsible for much of the book's enthusiastic readership, his later misgivings about having been too harsh on his subjects were not altogether off the mark. His chapter on Jefferson is a case in point.

The French historian Alexis de Tocqueville, in "The Art and Science of Politics" (1852) found the science of politics "fixed," but characterized the art of government as "a practical and militant aspect of politics coping with everyday problems and adapting itself to a multitude of varying circumstances." Because the science and art of politics were so different, said Tocqueville, "excellence in the one is no guarantee of success in the other." The genius of Jefferson was that he was a brilliant theoretician and practitioner of politics but—and this is important—not at the same time. While the inconsistencies of any politician are certainly fair game, Hofstadter made too much of them in this case.

Jefferson the theoretician wrote against slavery and opposed its extension to new territories but was practical (or hypocritical) in that he did not oppose its continuance in the Old Dominion. While acknowledging Jefferson was a "benevolent slavemaster," Hofstadter could not resist saying: "The leisure that made possible his great writings on human liberty was supported by the labors of three generations of slaves." Slavery was a deplorable institution, and Jefferson's slaveowning deserves mention, but of what relevance is it to Jefferson's *thought?* One might as well judge authors by the conditions in the pulp mills and printing shops that made publication of their books possible.

Hofstadter's criticism of Jefferson's thought tended more to its form than its substance: "He never attempted to write a systematic book of political theory—which was well, because he had no system and lacked the doctrinaire's compulsion to be consistent." Yet as Hofstadter acknowledged in 1967, *The American Political Tradition* was largely "a product of the social criticism of the 1930s." Ideological consistency was a contemporary value in the author's formative period; it was not in Jefferson's. Jefferson once wrote: "The greatest service which can be rendered any country is to add a useful plant to its agriculture." When Hofstadter cites this remark the inference is that Jefferson's time would have been better spent writing a comprehensive treatise on government. Today when Central Africa is suffering from drought and Asian nations have populations far too large for their arable land, the development of soy plants with four beans to the pod instead of three seems considerably more important than a consistent ideological tract. If a generation hence the Malthusian specter has lifted, Jefferson's interest in agriculture may once again be regarded as an amusing idiosyncrasy. So Hofstadter was guilty of using contemporary standards to measure the distance between Jefferson's words and deeds. Accuracy requires that each be measured separately.

American politicians steering a steady course left or right have inevitably run aground. To gain power in our Madisonian system one must boldly navigate the treacherous waters of competing interests. No 19th-century politician knew and practiced the art of government better than Lincoln, yet none has been so cloaked in godlike myth. Hofstadter stripped away that myth and revealed Lincoln for the outstanding political navigator he was. (Unlike his flawed evaluation of Jefferson, Hof-

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stadter was more dispassionate in his judgment of Lincoln's speech and thought.)

Nothing in Lincoln's early career would have justified his apotheosis as "The Great Emancipator." In 1858 he could preach racial equality in Chicago but still win applause two months later in Charleston by claiming: "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races." Lincoln eventually came to oppose slavery, but his evolution occurred slowly and for eminently practical reasons. He thought the Civil War would be short and he was prepared to accept slavery in the South as the price of union. Indeed when his generals in the first year of the war issued proclamations freeing slaves in several Southern states he promptly countermanded them. But as the war lengthened he came to the conclusion that it made no sense to reunite the states under conditions identical to those that brought about secession in the first place. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 was a cautious first step. It freed the Negro only in those "states and parts of states" where there was rebellion, thus permitting slavery to continue in the border states so crucial to the defense of the North. (The ballot to secede in Maryland, recall, failed by a single vote.) This led Secretary of State William Seward to remark: "We show our sympathy with slavery by emancipating the slaves where we cannot reach them and holding them in bondage where we can set them free." Yet the Emancipation Proclamation helped establish the climate that ultimately led to the outlawing of slavery by the 13th Amendment three years later. Lincoln modestly said, "I claim not to have controlled events but confess plainly that events have controlled me." It was a characteristically humble statement, if not an entirely accurate one. Lincoln may or may not have created the climate, but his superb sense of timing and political judgment of what was possible culminated in the end of slavery a year after his death. An abolitionist in the White House would most likely have failed.

If the nonideological American system requires politicians to be opportunistic and pragmatic, to be *successful* they must not seem so. "He kept us out of war" was the winning slogan in Woodrow Wilson's reelection campaign, but Hofstadter showed that even though Wilson seemed sincere in his opposition to the war, he turned a blind eye to British (but not to German) violations of American neutrality. Moreover American banks were financing Allied arms purchases with Wilson's approval while he was campaigning as a peace candidate. He had apparently decided, wrote Hofstadter, that "the best course of action would be to keep the American people busy and prosperous at their peaceful wartime pursuit, the manufacture of munitions." Yet when Wilson abandoned pragmatism after the war and led a nationwide moral crusade to gain America's entry to the League of Nations, he failed. Although he had made considerable compromises in the international negotiations which established the League, he refused to accept even the mildest reservations from the opposition-controlled Senate. Losing all political judgment, he lost the battle. As ugly as political opportunism may be, the lesson is clear: the dangers to a politician of a personal crusade are many; the most likely "reward" is martyrdom.

Franklin Roosevelt was the most skilled politician of this century. His New Deal was more pragmatic than programmatic, a temperament rather than a philosophy. Indeed Roosevelt's failure to present a coherent alternative to Hoover in 1932 prompted this journal to brand the campaign of both sides "an obscene spectacle." Like the present occupant of the Oval Office, Roosevelt was fond of football analogies, but unlike Nixon, FDR had only the next play, not a "game plan" because, he said, "future plays will depend on how the next one works." Assessing Roosevelt four years after his death, Hofstadter found him "a more flexible and clever politician than Wilson, much his superior in the craft of maneuver, but less serious, less deliberate, and less responsible." He concluded his assessment (and the book as well) acknowledging FDR's "belief in personal benevolence, personal arrangements, the sufficiency of good intentions and month-to-month improvisations" but averring it would be "fatal to rest content . . . without trying to achieve a more inclusive and systematic conception of what is happening in the world."

Here at last the young Hofstadter walked into the very trap he had seen ensnare Wilson and Hoover, an unfounded belief that there can be *in practice* an "inclusive and systematic conception" of American politics, that in essence the art and science of politics can be made one. Historically all such prescriptions have proven to be myths For Wilson it was the delusion that he could create a new world order; for Hoover it was a fundamentalist's faith in an individualism and free market that did not exist. The same trap, I would argue, doomed the 1972 presi-

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dential candidacy of George McGovern "right from the start."

In spite of Hofstadter's later demurrer that he had not been bent upon establishing "some single overarching theory," the individual profiles lead to one conclusion: *no* "inclusive and systematic conception" of American politics can be put into practice. Put another way, make ideological consistency or purity the test for nominating candidates and there is the losing slate. The competition of interests Madison and his colleagues recognized in 1787 and made the basis of the division of governmental powers goes on. If the interests have changed with time and the growth of government, the "Madisonian system" has not.

Hofstadter's untimely death in 1970 was a great loss, but he has left us a considerable legacy. *The American Political Tradition* is important for its insight into the character of American politicians and the workings of our political system. No doubt its value will increase with time.

Peter J. Ognibene

Grand Scheme

The Future of Higher Education by Alexander M. Mood

(McGraw-Hill; $6.95)

After six years, six million dollars and some 40 "research reports," the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education finished its work last month with a modest 100-page final report called *Priorities for Action*. Nudging it at the finish line is the book under review. It will confirm the worst fears of those critics who charge the commission with cultural obtuseness. How much it will cheer admirers is anyone's guess.

What Professor Mood and his Irvine colleagues have done is to condense the commission's criticism of modern higher education into one grand indictment and then to extrapolate from its musings about change a single grand scheme for 25 years hence. The indictment is distinctive in its comprehensiveness: it charges that the entire higher educational system is a huge interlocking bureaucracy, supported by the public in order to maintain the *status quo* and jealously guarded by the professoriate out of self-interest. The sweep is complete and the scythe spares nothing—entrance requirements, curriculum, grades, degrees; faculty appointment, promotion and tenure; physical plant; financing; governance.

This indictment becomes one of the two basic postulates for the bold surmise about the future: the system is irremediably bad. The second postulate is that the rapidity and direction of social change require a total reorientation of the goals and processes of education and, moreover, will produce it.

Grant to Mood and Company their postulates (I don't, but that's the only way of dealing objectively with the grand scheme). What then is proposed? In brief, a clean slate. A single year of college for anyone who wants it, with the alternative of a year of "national service" for the young who don't, the main purpose of that year being to get the youngster away from home and into a residential program where he would be free from the malign influence of status-seeking parents. After that, apprenticeships for all but the very few, those pursuing exceptional careers and those intending to become "research workers." It is never made clear what those exceptional careers would be, but plainly they do *not* include medicine, law, science and engineering, for example. For the masses (and despite the constant egalitarian talk this is an elitist formula) the single collegiate year and the apprenticeship would be filled out over a lifetime by the riches of a video university purveying by means of cassettes whatever is desired. "People will explore anything and everything. They will dabble superficially without guilt; they will dig deeply and slowly without embarrassment."

Anyone who has been keeping up with the futuristic treatises of the past two decades will find nothing dramatically new in the proposal except its absoluteness. The work-study program, the university without walls, the external degree and the decade-old video aspirations of the Fund for the Advancement of Education all point in the same direction. They have all been more modest and to date they have no great record of achievement, but they represent the same tide. In one respect, however, Professor Mood's grand scheme is both more revolutionary and more honest. He wants a great deal more than the managerial revolution implicit in those activities and in the commission reports themselves. Like that of the cultural upheaval in China, his revolution cuts to the core.

The test of any educational system is after all what is taught and how, not the structure that enfolds it. Mood is explicit about what he wants and does not want taught in that one year of residential collegiate education: "no literature, history, foreign languages, Mickey Mouse science courses, and mathematics"; instead, "practical philosophy, value systems, everyday psychology, exploration of career patterns, commonsense decision processes, nontechnical sociology, nontechnical economics, nontechnical science." In a later context he says that the content of the curriculum "would be almost entirely taken from the humanities—philosophy, history, literature—but all having a distinctly sociological cast." To clarify the apparent contradiction then, no literature *as* literature, no history *as* history, nothing for its own sake as an intellectual regimen, everything applied and made "relevant."

The obsession with utility reflects the author's assessment of people's needs—10 of them. Four he sees in gradual eclipse: association with important or famous people, popular recognition, wealth, power. Six are the basis of his program: to love and be loved, to be healthy, to be regarded as a person of worth by one's associates, to have an occupation that gives one a sense of accomplishment, to have a good understanding of the universe and society, to have adequate access to goods and services and interesting experiences. No mention of the need to know more than the present offers, none of the need for art and music, nothing at all about the satisfaction of sheer intellectual curiosity. They apparently are not needs, only appetites, and presumably in his system videoworld will be enough to take care of them.

Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation, is reported (in *Educational Abstracts*) as feeling "somewhat wistful that the commission did not tackle the thorny subject of undergraduate liberal education." Apparently he had not read Professor Mood's book when he spoke, for Mood tackled it and has been thrown for a loss as well. To be charitable: after so many solemn chart- and data-filled volumes perhaps we owe the commission latitude for one *jeu d'esprit*.

Harold C. Martin

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Lonely Prophet

Many Battles
by Ernest Gruening
(Liveright; $12.95)

Ernest Gruening welcomed John F. Kennedy's pledge of a New Frontier, but before long became disenchanted with the disparity between promise and performance at Camelot. He thought the President provided a clue to the administration's record in something he said in December 1962: "There is no sense in raising hell and not being successful. There is no sense in putting the presidency on the line on an issue and then being defeated."

It seemed a timid notion to Gruening, who had been raising hell for decades on behalf of the important issues of his time—usually long before they were popular. ". . . I believed that the greatest battles are often fought by men who are defeated time and again, and keep on fighting," he writes in this encyclopedic autobiography. "Should not a worthy cause be fought for regardless of ultimate victory or defeat?"

The singular value of this remarkable book lies in that attitude—not in the narrative's literary merit, though it is a lucid and frequently fascinating account of an amazingly full life, but in the impressive demonstration of the impact the solitary individual can have on events if he defies the odds, shrugs off the blows of fate and sticks with what he believes is right. Gruening was such a man throughout his multiple careers as editor of several metropolitan dailies and *The Nation*, author or editor of seven books besides this one, director of territories and island possessions under President Roosevelt, territorial governor of Alaska and, after statehood, one of its two first senators. He still is actively fighting at age 86. His story is particularly instructive at a time when public life is dominated by monolithic institutions operated by moral Lilliputians with punchcard brains.

Throughout Gruening's professional life, which began in journalism shortly after his graduation from Harvard Medical School in 1912, there is a continuity of commitment that illuminates his later prescience and perseverance in opposing the Vietnam war. That commitment found expression in his support for various human rights movements and in decades-long opposition to what he saw as one of the major threats to those rights: American colonialism at home and abroad.

An early advocate of racial equality, one of Gruening's first acts on becoming managing editor of the *Boston Traveler* in 1914 was to issue a memo ordering his staff to "Refer to the color of the individual only when it is of particular and special interest and when the story is manifestly incomplete and inaccurate if the color of the person involved is concealed"—a dictum that 60 years later still is flouted regularly in the nation's journalistic backwaters. He was an early member of the NAACP and in 1917 was asked to become its executive secretary (he declined, believing he could more effectively promote racial understanding as a journalist). He later was instrumental in eliminating segregation of public facilities (aimed mostly at Indians and Eskimos) in the territory of Alaska.

Gruening's stands on race and birth control—he was a supporter of Margaret Sanger when she was being jailed for publicly advocating contraception and family planning—kept him at sword's point with his publishers and were responsible in large part for a series of resignations until he found a more congenial atmosphere at *The Nation*.

For years, as journalist and government appointee, Gruening sought to have the United States treat the nations of Latin America—an area about which he knew a great deal through travel and friendship with Latin leaders—as sovereign states rather than banana republics to be subjugated by gunboat diplomacy. As director of territories and island possessions, he altered Washington's paternalistic and often despotic attitude toward Puerto Rico. As territorial governor he frequently clashed with the Seattle and San Francisco oligarchs—particularly the canned salmon interests—who controlled Alaska's territorial legislature and, in concert with the late E. L. "Bob" Bartlett (then territorial delegate and later US senator) and William A. Egan (chairman of the Alaska constitutional convention and three-term governor), worked tirelessly for statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii.

The principles that guided Gruening were instilled at an early age by his father, Emil, who emigrated from East Prussia in 1861. The elder Gruening appears to have been a strict but loving parent who, the senator tells us, "left his children a priceless legacy" while raising them in the then genteel atmosphere of Manhattan, summer homes on Long Island, extended trips to Europe and educations at the best preparatory schools and universities. Gruening and Dorothy Elizabeth Smith met in 1909, were married in 1914 and seem to have led happy lives together, marred only by two great tragedies: their eldest son Ernest, Jr. died in 1931 of an ear infection and their youngest son Peter committed suicide in 1955 while working for the United Press in Australia. The third son, Huntington, lives in Alaska.

Still active long after age would have sidelined many a milder man, Gruening began one of his major battles at age 76 on October 7, 1963, when he delivered his first Senate floor speech opposing the decision to send American "advisers" to Vietnam. "They are supposedly 'technicians,'" he said, "but of course they are troops, and it is sheer hypocrisy to pretend they are anything else." He dates the opening of the credibility gap from that fundamental attempt at deception by the Kennedy administration. Gruening quickly concluded that a unified Vietnam "even under Communist rule, could not have been worse than the strife-torn, dictator-ridden and corrupt regimes which the United States continued to keep in office in South Vietnam while the whole country was laid waste by war." He said so in a historic speech on the Senate floor on March 10, 1964, becoming the first member of Congress to advocate a prompt and complete military withdrawal from Southeast Asia. His speech was largely ignored, even by *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*, which at that time were trying to justify massive American intervention as necessary in order to be able to bargain from strength. "In other words," Gruening replied, "we have got to kill more American boys as well as Vietnamese and spend more millions of dollars before we do what we know we will have to do ultimately. What utter folly!" On June 3, 1964, Gruening proposed a United Nations-supervised cease-fire in Vietnam, the first senator to do so. And in August, Gruening and Wayne Morse of Oregon were the only members of Congress to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

But as Gruening notes there is little solace in being a lonely prophet on so tragic an issue. He was, after all, unable to stop or even slow the course of the war. More satisfying was the progress he helped inspire in Alaska during his 13 years as territorial governor and ultimate success in the long struggle for

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statehood.

I last saw the senator and his wife in July at their home in Washington. We sat on the back porch in the thick dusk, watching the latest Watergate revelations on a small, static-filled TV. Gruening was depressed by the electorate's rejection of George McGovern, for whom he had campaigned, and by the seemingly limitless corruption of the administration. He denounced President Nixon as "the worst scoundrel we've ever had in the White House" and recalled Mencken's remark that, 'Ruled by shady men, a nation itself becomes shady." He questioned whether representative government was still workable in America.

It seems to me that another question on which the workability of government may largely depend is whether the nation, as sometimes seems the case, has lost the capacity to produce men of Gruening's tenacity and vision. If it has then our prospects are bleak, or "in this complex modern world in the grip of vast impersonal forces, the individual still counts, supremely." Gruening wrote that in tribute to a friend, but it applies as surely to his own life.

Tom Brown

A Live Future?

The New Agenda
by Andrew Greeley

(Doubleday; $6.95)

The Fire We Can Light
by Martin E. Marty

(Doubleday; $5.95)

Over the years Andrew Greeley and Martin E. Marty have established themselves as two of the most astute observers of the increasingly confusing religious scene. If nothing else, they have had an uncommon staying power. A decade ago one could have found 10 or 15 equally talented observers, most of whom have long since turned their interests in other directions, some out of boredom, others out of anger or disappointment.

Greeley and Marty would be the first to appreciate that phenomenon, though in different ways. Greeley (priest/sociologist) has long warred with the liberal intellectual establishment (religious division), prone to confuse its personal problems with those of religion in general. Against its claim that secularity was consuming the flesh of traditional belief, leaving only the skeleton of *homo religiosus*, Greeley earlier in his career countered with sociological data, showing that the pessimism of the theological doomsayers could find little support in the practices and beliefs of the common man, still faithful, still believing. More recently with the data on traditional beliefs, church attendance and respect for religious authority pointing to some significant signs of decline, he has moved the argument to a different plane, contending that the exotic outburst of pentecostalism, Eastern religion and the cults of sensitivity and self-realization prove the enduring grip of religion, however odd the forms it may have at present. He has hacked away at both the right and the left in the high places of American religion, the former for its intransigence, the latter for its faddish embrace of whatever the general culture says is "relevant" from one year to the next.

Martin E. Marty (minister/church historian) is far less pugnacious, more prone to bemusement than indignation, to a historical rather than sociological approach; he has usually come to less harsh, less villain-ridden judgments of why the churches have had their ups and downs, mainly downs, of late. In *The Fire We Can Light*, which he calls his fourth report on religion in a presidential era (beginning with the Eisenhower period), his bemusement centers on the pronounced drift toward conservatism, religious particularism and localism, and a "suddenly attractive" spiritual emphasis. That much of this mirrors the national mood, with its mix of countercultural privatism and political conservatism, is evident enough. In each of the other presidential eras a comparable phenomenon was present, with religion reflecting rather than directing the larger culture.

But if these very general parallels can be supported, the present situation is more complex when the details are observed, particularly those pointing to future directions: "Tomorrow's religion and tomorrow's Christianity in America will be both more expansive and more constrictive, more pluralist

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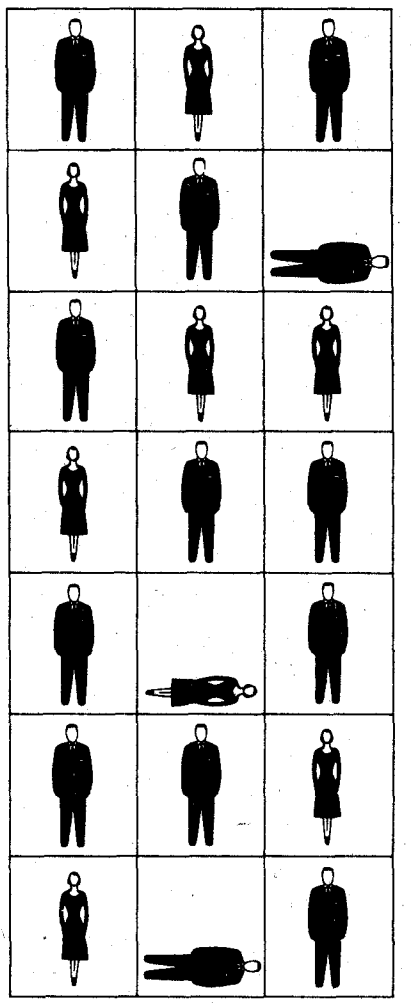

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and more sectarian, more sprawling and more rigidly defined. This will be the case because the population that is seeking religious answers is itself divided about the opposed and contradictory tendencies." Marty offers comparatively little advice to the churches in dealing with the confusion, though he approves of the swing back to spirituality and to the local roots of people and congregations. The question is whether this trend and others can be saved from (even as it reflects) a general societal stagnation, one which has seen a compulsion to find "ballast" in the midst of constant, excessive change.

Where Marty offers little advice and mild curatives, Greeley presses a "new agenda" on the churches, particularly the Catholic Church. The optimism of his earlier writing has now largely disappeared. Though religion-in-general will survive—since human beings cannot do without systems of ultimate meaning and value—the powerful and unique place of traditional religions in the West probably will not. While he touches very little on American Protestantism, his implicit judgment is that this fate has already befallen the churches of the Reformation. Now it is Catholicism's turn, once the most solid structure of all: "For the rest of our lives American Catholicism will erode until it becomes quite indistinguishable from any other American denomination." His "new agenda" is not meant to counter this erosion immediately. Instead it is aimed at establishing a more solid basis for future generations to work with; it will not be popular he says, no doubt proving offensive at first to all but a sober few, those who know that "urgency, passion and enthusiasm are no substitute for precision, discipline, intelligence and realistic analysis." Presumably those who fail to be drawn to the "new agenda" will be lacking in those estimable virtues.

What then does this saving "new agenda" require? In brief it demands that what Greeley calls both the "old questions" and the "old answers" be thrown out, together with the "new answers" to the "old questions." To illustrate: the old question was whether there is a God; the old answer was "certainly," and his existence can be proven. The new answer to the old question (liberal style) was that maybe God exists, but that it is an irrelevant issue. In place of these stale old and new certainties Greeley would substitute entirely new questions with entirely new answers. The new question about God is "Who is your God?" (everyone is taken to have a god of some kind), and the new answer is the "passionately loving Yahweh." Did Jesus rise from the dead? Christians once thought that a good question, producing an indubitable "yes." The question now ought to be "whether it is human instinct to hope and can it be validated?"

The key to Greeley's approach lies in adopting the common view of most sociologists of religion and many historians of religion as well, that religion is essentially a system of symbols, designed to provide a psychological context for human life. God—Jesus—church—salvation—cross, and the like are the particular historical Christian symbols. In their old meanings—literal, rationalistic—these symbols are now dying, maybe already dead, even for those who are professed believers. "The question," Greeley says, "is whether we will be able to interpret them. If we cannot, we are doomed to live our lives in religious and moral chaos and confusion."

The "we" in that quotation bears examination. As the book makes clear, it is not addressed to those who wonder whether they should be Christians in the first place. The "new agenda" is really a fresh apologetic, aimed at those who want to hang on to their faith but are aware (though maybe not well aware) that too much history has happened, too much damaging biblical criticism has appeared and too much scandal has taken place, to make that old faith a viable option much longer. By not offering extravagant hopes for the "new agenda," Greeley provides protection against quick disillusionment; and by not guaranteeing that the venture can be pulled off at all there remains a final, saving uncertainty.

It is easy to be cynical about this kind of venture in devising a hopeful future. Like most other totalistic, even absolutistic systems, when religious creeds and churches go dead, they go very dead. Just as they invited total commitment from their adherents, they also invited total rejection by their enemies, especially those who, once having been "saved," come later to feel betrayed for having been so readily gulled. I doubt that Greeley's "new agenda" will make much difference to the latter group, grown enormous in recent years, nor even much difference to those who saw all their old beliefs, and even the basic drive that sustained them, fade out bit by bit until there was simply nothing left. But I think it would be both crude and cruel to deny to those who want to hang in there the possibility of finding revitalization for themselves. Christianity has meant superstition, arrogance, nasty wars, crusades and psychic blood-letting; but that is not all that it has meant.

At the end of his book Marty calls on Christians to begin a new search for the "core" of Christianity. He wants a "new vision" and a "new consciousness" which discriminatingly builds upon old beliefs and traditions but carries them forward in fresh developments. I suppose that kind of wish is true of half the human race these days whatever their old beliefs and traditions. Greeley and Marty are probably right that religion is not dead, at least if religion is construed as a way of looking at the world and human experience as a whole (thus anything and everything counts as religion). But whether they are right about a live future for Christianity is far more in doubt. It began as a small sect; so it may end.

Daniel Callahan

Judaica

The Literature of American Jews
by Theodore L. Gross
(Free Press; $12.95)

A Traveler Disguised
by Dan Miron
(Schocken Books; $10.95)

A lack of complexity characterizes Theodore L. Gross' anthology. There are certainly rationales for anthologies they might bring together unavailable materials; they can put literature in brief compass into meaningful frameworks; they can provide a coherent approach for an area or discipline. But it is hard to understand why in this time of paper shortages Gross put together a collection the heart of which contains snippets from the best Jewish novelists, precedes it with some historical materials he acknowledges to be "a model

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achievement," and concludes with a lump of essays, poems and criticism, while excluding entirely Yiddish-American poetry easily available in translation.

His introductory sections abound with statements that obscure his writers' relationships to American and world literary traditions. They are more relevant, he says, than Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman because the latter "were concerned primarily with man's relationship to nature." Jewish writers, he insists, are not different from all others, but "while the classics of American literature are marked by a highly metaphoric and fabulistic imaginativeness—a forest, a whale, a scarlet letter or a river which bears a heavy moral freight of good and evil, sin and guilt, life and death, Jewish-American writing, with its constant return to the reason, analyzes the disparate emotional experiences on the human level before applying to them universal referents." It's hard to imagine what group of Jewish (or non-Jewish) writers belong in that framework. Most disconcerting of all is Gross' conclusion that *Portnoy's Complaint* marks "the definitive end" of Jewish creativity in this country's writing: "With this novel, the circle of creativity that one might designate as Jewish-American has been fully drawn —the rest, one suspects, will be repetitious, an afterthought."

Dan Miron's study is a marvelous antidote for Gross' apocalyptic visions. It is a major resource for non-Yiddish readers who want to know about the rise of a crucial tradition of Jewish writing in the 19th century. And it can be read at almost every point for an understanding of the problems Americans (including Jewish-Americans) have faced in the attempt to create an indigenous literature.

Miron focuses on the work of Sholem Y. Abramovitsh (1836?-1917), who became known to his audience as *Mendele Mocher-Sforim* (Mendele, the Book-peddler) and finally just Mendele, the grandfather of Yiddish literature." It was Sholem Aleichem, Miron shows, who invented the grandfather tradition to provide himself with a precedent for writing in Yiddish. The first part of the book is a brilliant study of the ideological struggles centering around the attempt to move from Hebrew to Yiddish as the language of Jewish literature. The position was that Hebrew (the Sacred Tongue) presents the only vehicle for serious writing, while Yiddish (*Mame-Loshn*, the mother tongue—the original Jewish Mother) represents only the "esthetics of ugliness," an inferior, degraded dialect usually described as *zhargon*. (It is the original *shlimazel* as well—a natural-born loser, for when the Jews finally achieved statehood they reinstated Hebrew and looked down their noses at Yiddish as a constant reminder of the ghetto passivity of European Jews. No *sabra* wanted to be put close to a *shlimazel*.)

But Yiddish was the language of the common people (it had been for almost 1000 years) and Abramovitsh as well as other writers of the period felt it their responsibility to write for Yiddish readers though it tore their esthetic sensibilities apart. Even Sholem Aleichem referred to himself as a *zhargonist*, and Miron reproduces Abramovitsh's description of his commitment to Yiddish through the metaphor of a lascivious affair with "a strange woman"—a *shikse*. It recalls the earlier struggle of American writers like Emerson and Whitman for a literature framed in American rather than British English. Emerson had paved the way, but it was still a shock when Whitman recommended "slang" as the source for American poetry, not to mention subjects like the city and Brooklyn Ferry.

Miron provides a perceptive discussion of the differences between Abramovitsh's monologist, Mendele, and Sholem Aleichem's well-known Tevye. The one is a naive sensibility like Huck Finn, the other a satirical, communal conscience akin to Faulkner's traveling peddler, V. (Vladimir!) K. Ratliff. Here Miron, author, critic and professor at the University of Tel Aviv, handles Mendele's accomplishments in a manner that will shock readers who hold conventional ideas about Jewish thought. An Israeli, he debunks the idea of Yiddish's inferiority and moves away from ethnocentric views of the "special significance" of Jewish literature, insisting that it must be seen in the framework of European fictional currents. Best of all, he reveals Mendele as a major nature writer and a ferocious critic of Jewish life, to the point that he was occasionally accused of being anti-Semitic.

A key insight is Miron's statement that Mendele learned how to handle the basic circumstance of Jewish identity—to find an objective correlative for the man who is forced to live as an "insider-outsider," not only in relation to Gentile society, but within the conflict of his own cultural values. That condition we come to see more and more as the char-

Interviews with Black Writers

Edited by John O'Brien

Seventeen black novelists, poets, playwrights, and essayists candidly discuss and evaluate their own work. John O'Brien's interviews cover preoccupying themes, style, development, and influences—such as the black experience—as well as the understanding given their work by critics and the reading public.

The seventeen are **Arna Bontemps, Cyrus Colter, William Demby, Owen Dodson, Ralph Ellison, Ernest J. Gaines, Michael Harper, Robert Hayden, Clarence Major, Julian Mayfield, Ann Petry, Ishmael Reed, Alice Walker, John Wideman, John A. Williams, Charles Wright,** and **Al Young.**

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acteristic American experience as well, and it helps to explain the response by non-Jews to the thematic concerns of major Jewish-American writers. A discussion of the development of Yiddish literature in the 19th century is indispensable for an understanding of what happened later in this country. Miron has performed an essential service in providing it, and like any good criticism it will have a salubrious effect on Jewish-American writing. Miron proposes a sequel which will consider Sholem Aleichem's work in a similar framework. After all the "fiddling on the roof" we've had to endure, it can't come too soon.

Gene Bluestein

Now You See It . . .

Unreal Estate
by Anthony Wolff
(Sierra Club Books; $7.95)

"Cochiti Lake, New Mexico . . . A life style you've earned," the full-page advertisement in *Time* reads. The pleasant middle-class white couple pictured in the ad reading their morning paper probably don't know that Cochiti Lake, a second-home subdivision that may eventually contain 44,000 people, came about because of some expensive deals involving the US Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and some of the cleverest land swindlers in the Southwest. They probably don't know that the 400 members of the Cochiti pueblo were practically forced into signing a 99-year lease for their land, while BIA officials from Washington stood by giving bad advice. They don't know that the lake that is making the lot sales so lucrative was subsidized by an $82 million dam and an $85 million water diversion project paid for by US taxpayers. The reason the couple doesn't know about all these things is that they haven't read Anthony Wolff's informative exposé of recreation land subdivision, *Unreal Estate*.

Like the couple in the Cochiti Lake ad, thousands of Americans are buying lots as investment hedges. Propaganda from the subdivision companies assures them that land is getting scarce and valuable. Some of the suckers get conned into going to one of those "private dinner parties" at a "fashionable restaurant" (usually in the local motel), where high-pressure sales people work on them. Those who get out with their pants on are lucky. But even if they signed for a lot and paid a deposit, the ordeal isn't over. Sales people know when they've got a fish and will be sure to come back for more of his money.

All this may sound like a caricature of what surely must be an honest industry (it's regulated by the federal government, isn't it?). But as Wolff, a New York writer, makes clear, the scenic lot they get at Rio Rancho Estates or Deming Ranchettes or California City or any of a dozen other subdivisions may be worth next to nothing. In many cases such "developments" lack water, public facilities, schools, roads, sewers, even a good map to tell them where their property is. The worst thing is that they can't even get rid of the property: the company won't buy it back, and the multiple listings are full of offers from hundreds of other would-be victims.

Wolff documents the scandal of the recreational-lot business in excruciating but fascinating detail. Surely there are some developments that are honest. But the conclusion to be drawn from Wolff's research is that the major portion of the industry is rotten, full of con men floating big deals on worthless paper. The consumer had better beware. Even those not touched directly will find that scenic areas from New York's Adirondack forests to the timeless deserts of the Southwest are being laid bare by the robber barons of the wilderness. Some of the country's major companies, including most notably ITT and Boise Cascade, are or have been involved in the desecration. By turning their backs to the problem or in some cases helping things along through log-rolling deals, politicians at all levels have given tacit approval to these land deals. The US Office of Interstate Land Sales Regulation has proved ineffective in controlling abuse.

Subdivision sales business is a shell game: land sales companies require sales candidates to show their enthusiasm by having the prospective salesmen foist lots on their families and friends, or sometimes on themselves. One notorious California developer, M. Penn Phillips, who conceived the Cochiti Lake deal (although now it is in other hands), placed a dummy oil derrick near his sales office at California City. His sales people were instructed to ignore questions about it, thus prompting prospective customers to believe that they were "buying into a bonanza," in Wolff's words.

It is common practice in the industry to hold title to all property until final payment has been made. This means that the buyer "loans" the developer the full purchase price, while he (the buyer) pays interest. If the purchaser misses even one payment, the developer can recoup the property by default. Even if the purchaser gets title (usually at a price 10 or 20 times the developer's cost), he has no assurance that the necessary public improvements will have been made. Often the property is as much of a wasteland after years of payments as it was when the purchaser took the plunge.

Little is being done to prevent this skulduggery. Federal regulation has proved ineffective, and state and local governments are often more than glad to get increased real estate tax revenues from out-of-state lot owners. Some states are getting at the problem in a roundabout way by restricting the use of ecologically delicate land. In the land sale business, though, P. T. Barnum's dictum is as operative as ever. Perhaps by reading Wolff's important exposé of the subdivision racket, tomorrow's suckers will at least have been forewarned.

Robert Cassidy

Sullen Craft

Unreceived Opinions: Thoughts on Writers and Writing
by Michael Holroyd
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston; $7.95)

Robert Frost on Writing
by Elaine Barry
(Rutgers; $7.50)

Holroyd calls himself a citizen of the world of letters, "a crowded shrinking place" oppressed by the alien spawn of a media-run society. This collection of essays and reviews—most of them previously published—consists of complaints against conditions imposed on

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the writer. The cause is noble and his heart is pure, but unfortunately neither his strategy nor his tactics fits the campaign he advertises.

The first part of the book, which sets forth his "credentials and misadventures," is promising. We meet the Holroyds gathered 'round the telly, watching Chinese troops crush the Indian tea plantings in which the family fortune has been invested. No matter, says Father Holroyd, young Michael would probably not have been a very successful planter anyway; and with that, the scion of the newly bankrupt family is nudged toward a career in science. He fails miserably, as he does at his subsequent stints in the law and army. The account of these trials is comically self-deprecating, yet clearly he is the victim of a world ruled with little wisdom. We are somewhat relieved in the next essay to discover him pursuing literary biography at the Edwardian home of John and Alix Strachey, where he barricades himself against the dismaying present and menacing future: "I became absorbed in [Lytton Strachey's] life, and over the years I was writing my book I do not think I was ever more than half aware of the outside world."

There is a felicitous quality of *déjà vu* in the manner and substance of this autobiographical presentation. We like Michael Holroyd and we accept his unlikely herohood. Then, just as we are enticed by the prospect of watching an anti-macassar sensibility offended by modern values, the tenor shifts. His private voice gives way to a public one as he takes to task, among others, the Greater London Council (for acting inexpeditiously in erecting a plaque to honor Strachey), the Wilson and Heath governments (for lassitude in enacting legislation to pay authors for public-library lending of their books), and officers of the International Book Year in Great Britain (for ineptitude in promoting the project). Separated from his targets as we are by an ocean and what Dylan Thomas called the barrier of a common language, American readers will find it difficult to judge the merits of his cases, much less to warm to the onslaught. We of course share his antipathy toward muddling bureaucracy, but the issues seem parochial. Further, the authorial voice in these essays, suddenly disembodied from his personality encountered earlier, strikes us as that of a scold.

One noteworthy exception in this section is "Harvard on My Mind," an essay on the recent student riots. Elsewhere in the book Holroyd's comments on the American scene are typically English, formed in England from stereotypes, which he crosses the Atlantic to confirm. But here, in describing the quick slip from one era into another during the two weeks between the Eisenhower funeral and the perturbations in Harvard Yard, and in his report of student irascibility and the response of the collegiate elders, he has touched experience. For those believing that wisdom resides in the universities, those who think William Buckley was engaging in hyperbole when he said he would rather be governed by a random selection from the telephone directory than by the Harvard faculty, this essay is worth the price of the volume.

In the middle 60 pages the author becomes a propagandist for William Gerhardie, Patrick Hamilton, Hugh Kingsmill and Charlotte Mew—three novelists and a poet who have failed to attain popularity in England and are almost completely unknown here. As Holroyd points out, "the ever more densely grown jungle of the printed word" can hide gifted writers from view, and the academic establishment's safaris are reluctant to stray from worn paths. The discovery is not made exciting, however, for Holroyd asks us to be content with mini-biographies and overviews of the writers' works.

My disappointment deepened in the book's last section, a gathering of reviews of books on the Victorians, Edwardians and Georgians. Holroyd's reviews are ordinary: synopses of the

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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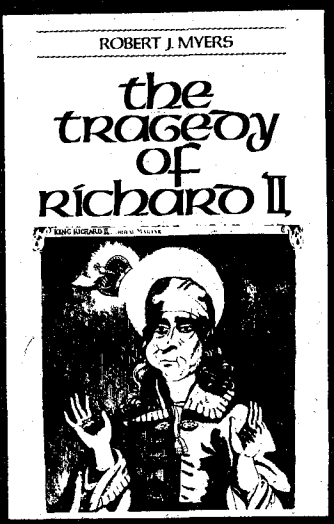

An outrageous fabrication of the War of the Rose Garden. My attorneys, along with those of Mr. Shakespeare, will see you in court.

—Victor Gold, *Former Press Secretary to Vice President Agnew*

Something had to come out of Watergate that I could enjoy and "The Tragedy of Richard II" is it."

—John Osborne, *Noted Nixon Watcher*

Pep up your outlook with *The Tragedy of Richard II.* Paradoxical? Maybe. This satire on the current political scene is plotted along the line of Shakespeare's *Richard II,* a kind of formula Barbara Garson successfully used in *MacBird.* But if the Bard has supplied the plot, Myers has provided up-to-date punch and insightful humor. It's fresh as tomorrow's headline, perennial as a classic, witty, clever, funny, good satire!

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book's contents in which it is often difficult to tell where the author leaves off and the reviewer begins. Further, I lament Holroyd's inability to place his considerable grace with words at the service of some vision of literature's radical role in human experience. He is content for the most part to churn the whey left from his work as the biographer of Kingsmill and Strachey. Nowhere does he argue the case for a contemporary writer, or reveal an awareness that the recent decade has witnessed as profound a revolution in the concept of fiction as any during the last 300 years, or burnish one work from the past so that it gleams with new light for readers. If we are to take seriously the intentions he announces in his introduction, his effort falls short of the goal. If on the other hand we are to dismiss those words as rhetoric, the collection must be seen as a well-written but uneven assemblage of pieces.

Elaine Barry should properly be listed as editor not author of *Robert Frost on Writing*. Her design is to present Frost as a man of letters *malgré lui*, and to that end she has seined the published record for evidence that could in any way be construed as poetic theory or criticism and added several items which have not previously appeared in print: 14 letters, two very brief "lectures" and a few lines of marginalia.

Frost was certainly a more sophisticated poet than current fashion would have him, but he used his country-boy image as a shelter from the political intrigues among modern poets and the debates they generated. Largely as a result of this reticence, the catch in Miss Barry's net makes for a slim volume which would be even slimmer were it not for the fact that almost everything of substance in the texts also appears, rephrased, in her introduction.

There is some utility in having Frost's comments on poetry between one set of covers, but no reader who has the least familiarity with his work should be even mildly surprised by the results of Miss Barry's industry.

Frank Gado

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Three on Alternative Life-Styles

Doris Grumbach

Serious studies of the hippie culture of the '60s and early '70s are just now beginning to appear. By "serious," for example, I mean **Young Outsiders,** the work of British sociologist Richard Mills (Pantheon; $6.95), an intelligent and intelligible analysis of alternative communities. In 1970 Mills spent a summer talking to young people in London communes, concerning himself mainly with their concepts of work, leisure, their sense of wholeness of identity, their need for "experience" in the special way that the hippie community seeks for it. Mills is a good, sensitive writer, not always characteristic of serious scholars, and his book reveals, more than any study I have seen, the "real" relationship between the hippie young and their parents ("Most of the people in this study had had rather serious upbringings. They reflected a persistent theme in our society, the expectations that young people should study hard and work hard . . . they were made all too often the repositories of their parents' anxieties about the possibilities of downward mobility . . . So absolute is this commitment . . . the young person is forced to reply in equally absolute manner: if he does not accept it, or if he fails at it, he feels he must drop out completely.") Interesting too is Mills' discussion of the valuelessness of conventional leisure to modern bohemia, of the relation between Eastern thought and hippies, their avoidance of stable and formal behavior, and the "pre-occupation with those modes of intensified experience where intellectual and sensuous awareness [are] most intimately joined." I recommend this study to professionals—and to parents.

More earnest, but perhaps less immediately useful, if one approaches the subject from the outside, is **Celery Wine,** a first-hand account of what it is like to live (seriously) in a commune, and to make one's life in it work. New Yorker Elaine Sundancer, whose early marriage collapsed, worked as a topless dancer in a San Francisco bar, then took her dulcimer, her son, her cooking pots, left Berkeley and went to a farm commune in the Pacific Northwest. She discusses all the joys and problems, of work, decision-making, relations with neighbors, meditation, weather, etc., and ends her journal a year after she started it in 1970, edited and published it two years later. Her conclusions are interesting, especially in tandem with Mills'. She advises other would-be commune formers to "go slowly," but to "get moving" if their present life-style is unsatisfactory, to form a commune that is based on individual experience, not advice. "Don't think too much," "Fear not," and don't worry about failure, she cautions. This paperback is published by a commune, the Community Publications Cooperative, Yellow Springs, Ohio ($2.50) and is handsomely illustrated with line drawings by Judith St. Soleil.

One other, a book called **Wasteland: Building the American Dream,** by Stephen A. Kurtz (Praeger: $7.95; $3.95 paper) is a severe look at the present state of American cities, building, exurban communities, and the profession of architecture. Kurtz represents the "radical minority" in the profession; his book is "an attempt to restore moral judgment to the aesthetic evaluation of a built environment," his moral, that "a new architecture *can* develop but only from a new social order." The ample photographs illustrate his thesis; the ones of exurban life and downtown culture are graphic and frightening, especially when accompanied by those that seem to approve of "Dome" life and domes built by communal groups. (A lovely nude lady with her nude child stretched across her bosom is contrasted to mothers in full tank suits in a jammed suburban swimming pool, exemplifying a good and a poor life-style.) One agrees to some extent with young (33) Kurtz that "ours is a profoundly disintegrated society," reflected in the deadlines of our living patterns and of our physical circumstances, and that the solution lies in widespread changes in social consciousness. He says that, because of its economic base, "architecture is particularly obdurate to change," but nonetheless he pursues his vision of what it must ideally do for men. A challenging book.

Two additions to the cascade of literature by, about and for women: a history of women in architecture, **From Tipi to Skyscraper,** by Doris Cole (Braziller $8.95, $3.95 paper), which the author claims is the first such history to be

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compiled. Why tipi? Well there is evidence that among many Indian tribes women designed, fabricated and constructed the dwelling units; "architecture was often considered women's work." This is in sharp contrast to the state of things in the present-day US: about two percent of the architects practicing are women. Doris Cole examines the work of such amateur architects as Catherine Beecher and her sister Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote in 1863: "One of the greatest reforms that could be, in these reforming days . . . would be to have women architects," through the revolutionary years at the Cambridge School founded in 1916, and co-directed by Eleanor Raymond, one of the first women to study architecture at the school. The book concludes with a study of contemporary practice, including Julia Morgan who designed churches, college buildings and Hearst's home in California. *Architecture West* admired her work and wondered "how she submerged herself in the demands of the master of San Simeon."

Knopf's **The Woman's Eye** ($15, $6.95 paper) has a good introduction by Anne Tucker that addresses itself to questions like "Is there a women's art, more particularly a photographic art?" and "Isn't it true that there is more likely to be a man's view of women in photography which defines our vision of women?" The volume illustrates the belief that there is nothing sexually defined about women's photography with the work of Gertrude Kasebier (1852-1934), Berenice Abbott, Arbus, Bourke-White, Lange, Barbara Morgan, etc. Alisa Wells, whose photographs are indeed what the editor claims, "visual metaphors," is especially intriguing, a highly autobiographical photographer, puzzling, imaginative, intriguing.

I liked reading and studying **Stranger Stop and Cast an Eye,** a guide to gravestones and gravestone rubbing, by G. Walker Jacobs (Stephen Greene Press; $4.95), not because I have an inordinate and morbid fondness for the subject but because, for one thing, this is an example of attractive and careful book-making by a small press in Brattleboro, Vermont, and because the book explains the signs and symbols to be found on New England gravestones. Thus they become visual American history, emblems of theological belief as well as social history. I had not before been aware of how much one could tell about a civilization from its gravestones. One of the most revealing items of antebellum history is the author's rubbing of Caesar's tombstone in North Brattleboro, Massachusetts: "Here lies the best of slaves/Now turning into dust;/Caesar the Ethiopian craves/A place among the just./His faithful soul has fled/To realms of heavenly light./And by the blood that Jesus shed/Is changed from Black to Whyte."

We missed noticing at length in these pages Don McDonagh's biography of **Martha Graham** (Praeger; $10.95) and the mammoth accompanying volume, **The Notebooks of Martha Graham,** with an introduction by Nancy Wilson Ross (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; $25). The reason was that few persons I asked would acknowledge themselves competent to deal with both this first full-length biography of a 50-year career in modern dance, and what amounts to a huge autobiography. For her working notebooks are as much an examination of her curious, creative mind as McDonagh's quotation from her: "I know I'm arrogant and vain and I must be adored." From the biography I think (as an amateur cautiously approaching the subject of a remarkable dancer) I learned almost as much as from *The Notebooks.* Unauthorized, unemotional, highly objective as the biography is, it seems to obscure some of the complexity and much of the simplicity of Graham's mind. In *The Notebooks* I used as touchstone, for example, the wild, scattered, highly impressionistic notes for a film script for *The Scarlet Letter.* I do not see that the phrases and sketchy words suggest any significantly original thoughts about the novel. So *The Notebooks* may well be a graphic example (contrary to one reviewer who sees them as revealing "the kinship of thinking among all the arts") of how noticeably unintellectual is the art of the dance ("Don't think too much"?), and how (I apologize for this) lacking in intellectual content most dance-drama appears to be. What both books lack, of course, is the basic ingredient by which any dancer must be judged: movement. It seems unfair in a way to substitute words about her, even facts and description.

Immortality

There is a book about it, and it costs ten thousand
dollars to be frozen, perhaps for centuries,
until in the middle of your dying thought,
they wake you up to see the world, if it's still here.
But even if doctors do iron out our wrinkles,
why should the warehouse yawn and old flesh walk,
reviving what might decently be buried? Death
nowadays is nothing to be afraid of. Death is nothing.
But I would rather be punished forever in fire
and ice, blown burning through barbarous wind
—we'd swoop like a pair of cardinals on the extreme
gusts and leave the neutered angels envious—
than to have no mind, no body, and not to be.

JILL HOFFMAN

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

front-page attention, the press conferences, the dinner-party lionizing, the expertise in food and dress and nightclubs. Shadhov gives Chaplin the chance to show these personal attributes and acquisitions in public. True, strands of the Tramp-persona are intermittently woven through the King-persona: a fully clothed graceful leap into a bathtub (he was 68 at the time), some fancy footwork in the hotel lobby evading a supposed process-server, some pantomime in a noisy nightclub telling a waiter that he wants caviar and turtle soup (reminiscent of the Oceana Roll in *The Gold Rush).* But the integrated character of the great films is gone, split into a comedy person and the (very literally) self-conscious creator of that comedy.

This schism derives from the schism in film history: the advent of sound. The classy Chaplin, the speech-making

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Chaplin, the intellectual parvenu, would have been inconceivable in silent films. He was worried by sound, and he resisted speech in the first two films he made in the sound era, *City Lights* and *Modern Times*—his last two great works. When he succumbed to speech, it took over and hag-rode him; he overcompensated for his earlier resistance. He split his world-worshipped character in two and made the "serious" half a vehicle for talk; but sound also affected the comedy self, usually adversely. The moment here when he is fingerprinted by the Immigration Department at the airport as he talks about his joy at being in free America would have been funnier in dumbshow with subtitles, without the limitations of Chaplin's limited voice and the *fact* of the words. Shadhov recites "To be or not to be" as a party entertainment—misquoting it, incidentally—but it's neither funny nor an effective instance of the classic clown-as-Hamlet idea which Chaplin wants us to admire.

So, under or above all, *A King in New York* shows how the coming of sound was a curse to Chaplin; how its freedoms dissipated his strengths; how his attempts to exploit it intellectually and ideologically played to his weaknesses, not his strengths; how, in short, he was much more grievously hurt by history in art than by history in politics.

But—obviously, I hope—all the above is comment, not advice to the reader. *A King in New York* must be seen by anyone interested in Chaplin, which is to say anyone interested in film or, for that matter, in the 20th century. If you like Beethoven, you want to hear the Triple Concerto at least once in your life; no matter what you think of it, you can't *not* have heard it. If you admire this first towering genius of a new art, you must of course see his last work.

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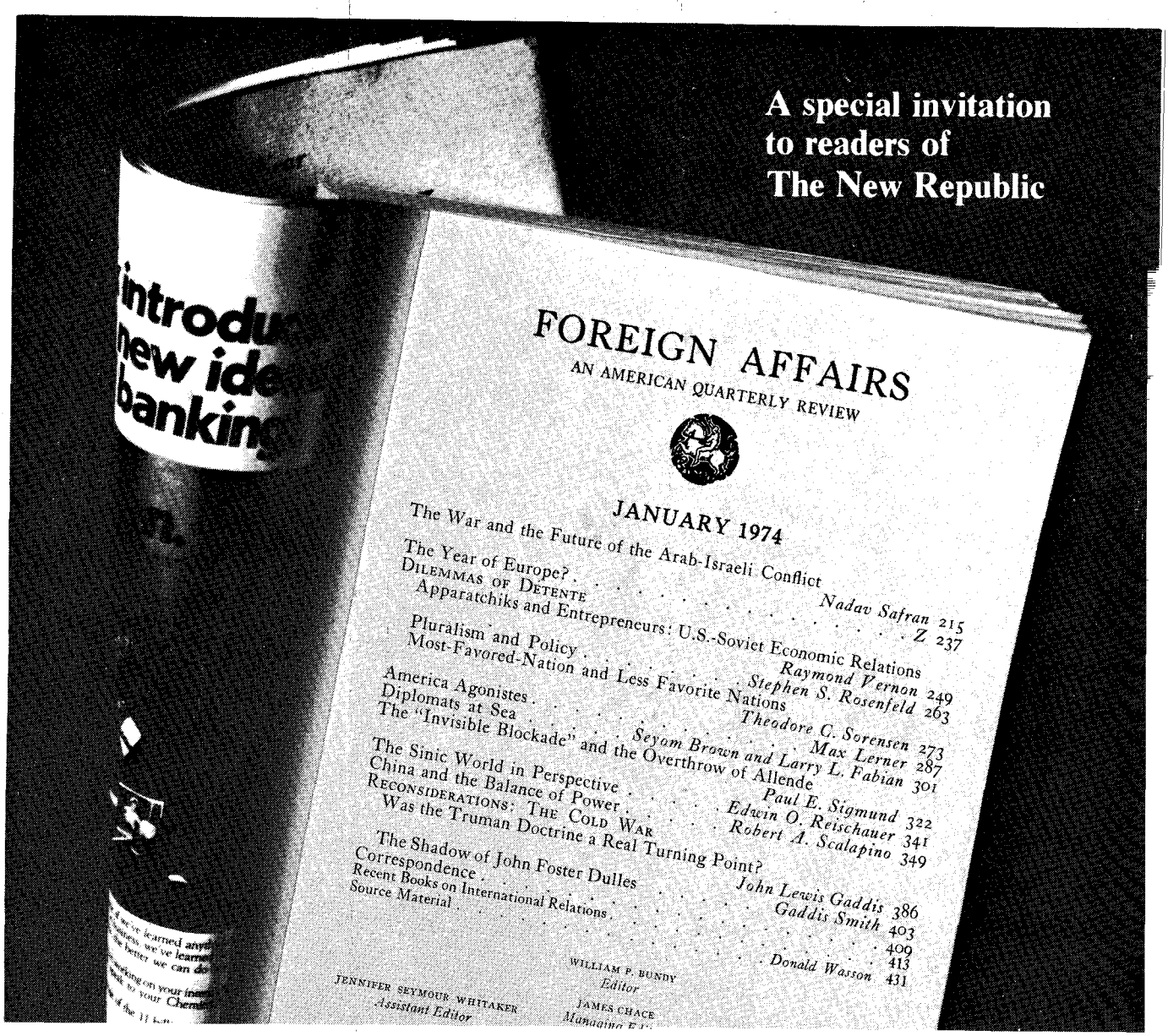
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